

RDTA

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

with the coöperation of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG
MILTON A. BUCHANAN
JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD
J. D. M. FORD

LUCIEN FOULET
JOHN L. GERIG
C. H. GRANDGENT
GEORGE L. HAMILTON

HENRY R. LANG
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON
KENNETH McKEENZIE
HUGO A. RENNERT

EDWARD S. SHELDON

HUGH A. SMITH

and

THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

PUBLISHED BY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

LANCASTER, PA.,

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Entered as second-class matter April 19, 1910, at the Post Office at Lancaster, Pa., under the Act of
March 3, 1879.

CONTENTS

The Mirrour of Knighthood	JOSEPH DE PEROTT	397
The Development of the Mort Arthur Theme in Medieval Romance.		
	J. DOUGLAS BRUCE	403
The Sources of the <i>Roman de la Violette</i>	DOUGLAS L. BUFFUM	472
Old French <i>estovoir</i>	OLIVER M. JOHNSTON	479
Phonological Contributions	E. H. TUTTLE	480
REVIEWS:		
Dante Alighieri, <i>La Divina Commedia</i> , edited and annotated by C. H. GRANGENT, G. L. HAMILTON		483
<i>Les Obres d'Auzias March</i> : edició crítica per Amandeu Pagès.—Auzias March et ses Prédécesseurs: Essai sur la poésie amoureuse et philosophiques en Catalogne aux XIV ^e et XV siècles, par Amadée Pagès, by L. HERBERT ALEXANDER		
NOTES AND NEWS		488

Articles to Appear Shortly

- Old French *e* and *é*. F. ANDERSON, Yale University.
- An Irish Analogue of the Legend of Robert the Devil. RONALD S. CRANE, Northwestern University.
- Notes on the Tragedies of Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola. J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD, University of Pennsylvania.
- Barthélemy Aneau (*continued*). JOHN L. GERIG, Columbia University.
- Eustorg de Beaulieu. A Biography. HELEN J. HARVITT.
- Ollanta, a Quichua Drama. E. C. HILLS, Colorado College.
- The Young King, Henry Plantagenet, in Provençal and Italian Literature. OLIN MOORE, University of Illinois.
- The Use of the Plural of Reverence in the Letters of Pope Gregory I. HENRI F. MULLER, Columbia University.
- The Harvard Manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*. EDWARD S. SHELTON, Harvard University.
- Notes on Foerster's Edition of *Yvain*. EDWARD S. SHELTON, Harvard University.
- Another Parallel to the First Canto of the *Inferno*. JOHN S. P. TATLOCK, University of Michigan.
- Romantic "retinas." EDWIN H. TUTTLE.
- Illo degli Uberti* as a lyric poet. CHARLES E. WHITMORE.
- Montaigne and *The Tempest*. ALLAN H. GILBERT.
- The Central Italian Dialects. HERBERT H. VAUGHAN, University of Pennsylvania.
- Osservazioni e Dubbi concernenti la Storia delle Romanze Spagnuole. PIO RAJNA, Istituto di Studi Superiori, Firenze.
- Chaucer and Li Renclus de Molliens. JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES, Washington University.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. IV — OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1913 — No. 4

✓ THE MIRROUR OF KNIGHTHOOD

THE most laborious undertaking of the Elizabethans in the way of a direct translation from the Spanish was undoubtedly the complete rendering of the romance of chivalry, *Espejo de principes y caballeros*, into the English tongue. The first part of the Spanish original, from the pen of Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra, appeared at Zaragoza in 1562. Pedro de la Sierra composed a continuation which he termed Part II, published at Alcalá in 1581. Finally, Márcos Martínez concluded the work with his parts III and IV, printed at Alcalá in 1587. The first part consists of three books and the remaining ones of two each. The four parts thus form nine books. They are published in the English version in nine volumes, books 4 and 5 (Pt. 2)¹ being bound together, however, in one volume.

The dates of the different books of the copy in the Bodleian Library are as follows:

Book 1 *The First Part of the Mirroure of Princely deedes and Knighthood. . . . Now newly translated out of Spanish into our vulgar English tongue, by M. T. Imprinted at London by Thomas Este. [No date]*

Book 2 *The Second part of the first Booke, 1599.*

Book 3 *The Third Part of the first booke. [No date]*

Books 4 and 5 *The Second part of the Mirror of Knighthood. Containing two severall Bookes, 1598.*

Book 6 *The sixth Booke of the Myrroure of Knighthood, 1598.*

Book 7 *The Seventh Booke of the Myrroure of Knighthood, 1598.*

¹ I have preserved throughout the Spanish meanings of the words part and book.

Book 8 *The Eighth Booke of the Myrror of Knighthood*, 1599.

Book 9 *The Ninth part of the Mirrour of Knight-hood*, 1601.

The *Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. Robert Parry, informs us that the British Museum possesses a copy of books 4 and 5, dated 1583, and that the first three books appeared, according to the statement of the publisher, some three years before. This would give us the date 1580. It can be shown, however, that these books probably appeared as early as 1579.

1. The work was licensed on August 4, 1578.

2. There is a certain degree of probability that an episode from the *Mirrour of Knighthood* was performed on the English stage on the first of March, 1579 (see *Revue Germanique* de juillet, 1911, p. 421 ff.).

3. In John Lyly's *Euphues* there is an allusion to the *Mirrour of Knighthood* which runs as follows:

I could not tell whether some mist had blearred myne eyes, or some stra[u]ng[e] enchauntment altered my minde, for it may bee, thought I, that in this Island, either some *Artimedorus* or *Lisimandro*, or some odd *Nigromancer* did inhabit. . . . (Lyly's *Euphues*, ed. Arber, Westminster, 1900, p. 444).

Now, the magician Artemidoro plays a very important part in the Spanish novel. We are first introduced to him in the account which his daughter Calinda gives of herself to the Prince Rosicler who has freed her from a giant:

Sabed señor dixo la dōzella, que yo soy llamada Calinda hija del sabio Artemidoro, q̃ por ventura en algun tiēpo aureys oydo, el qual viue en vna insula que cō estar bien cerca de aqui en medio deste mar, jamas por nadie cōtra su volūdad pudo ser hallada. (*Primera parte de Espejo de Principes y Cavalleros*, En Çaragoça, Por Pedro Cabarte, en la Cuchilleria. Año de MDCXVII, p. 37.)

Rosicler marvels greatly at what Calinda tells him about the great sage her father:

Mucho fue marauillado Rosicler en oyr lo que la donzella dezia, assi por loque a ella con el jayan le auia auenido, como por ver la gran velocidad que el batel en que yuan nauegaua, pareciendole que no podia dexar de ser grande el saber del sabio Artemidoro, pues tanto poder sobre las profundas aguas de la mar tenia, y

mucho plazer en si sentia esperãdo de se ver con tan grande sabio, por preguntarle si sabia algo del principe Theoduardo y del donzel del Febo su hermano.² (*Espejo*, p. 37.)

The appearance of the sage is described in the following terms:

. . . era vn hombre al parecer muy viejo, y la barua muy blanca hasta la cinta, y con vn baculo en la mano, que su honrada presencia le declaraua por sabio. . . . (*Espejo*, p. 38).

It was also Artemidoro who consigned to writing the deeds of Rosicler:

tengo escrito quanto por vos y la princesa Briana ha passado, y escriuire por historia lo demas que os acaeciẽre, y por vos passare entretanto que la vida me durare, porque la memoria de vuestras grandes hazañas y estremados hechos en los venideros tiempos no pueda ser perdida, como la de vuestro hermano el donzel del Febo, que tal persona tiene cuenta del, que mientras durare el mũdo durara la memoria de sus estrañas marauillas. (*Espejo*, p. 38).

The duty of preserving from oblivion the deeds of Rosicler's brother, the Knight of the Sun, devolved upon another sage, Lirgandeo, whose great knowledge of the magic arts is thus described by the author:

Por las antiguas y mas verdaderas coronicas de los Assirios parece, que en el tiempo que Theodoro el antecesor del gran Trebacio succedio en el imperio de Grecia, reynaua entre los Persas el podeso (sic!) Orixergues, el qual demas de ser Rey de Persia, era tambien Soldan de Babilonia, y por su gran poder en toda la Pagania era nõbrado, y muy temido. Y despues que prosperamente huuo reynado, quãdo vino a morir dexo tres hijos: el primero quedo por Rey en Persia: el segundo fue Soldan de Babylonia: el tercero fue señor de la insula Rubia, q̃ es en el mar Bermejo: y toma este nombre el mar, porque toda aquella tierra es colorada. Y este tercero hermano (Lirgandeo) desde niño fue muy estudioso, y dado al arte magica, en la qual salio tan sabio, que en su tiempo no vuo quien se le ygualasse: y la mayor parte del tiẽpo viuio en aquella su insula, por ser muy aparejada para su arte y estudio. (*Espejo*, p. 14).

Lyly may have confused the name of the magician Lirgandeo with that of Rosicler's uncle Liriamandro (*Espejo*, p. 36).

An Italian translation of the *Caballero del Febo* appeared in

² What happened to him can be learned from *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Bd. 33, p. 211.

1601. This seems to be the only other version of so early a date. The title page of the copy in my possession is as follows:

DELLO
SPECCHIO
DE PRENCIPI,
ET CAVALIERI,
PARTE PRIMA.
Diuisa in tre Libri.
NVOVAMENTE TRADOTTI
di lingua Castigliana in Italiana.
PER MELCHIOR ESCAPPA DA VILLAROEEL,
gentilhuomo Spagnuolo Lionese.

In Vinegia. Presso gli Heredi d'Altobello Salicato. 1610

The Dedication is dated Di Roma il dì 25. di Maggio MDCI.

As this translation contains only the first three books, it could not have been utilized by the English translators. The French translation—*Le Chevalier du Soleil*—is ruled out of court by the date of its first volume—1617.

As a specimen of the English translation, I transcribe a passage from the *Story of the Unfaithful Lover*. The corresponding passage from the French translation of 1620 is accessible in the *Revue Germanique* of 1911, p. 423:

And hee (the Magician) seeing the great disloyalty of him (Lusindo), determined before hee did die to bee reuenged of that iniury, and likewise of me, in such sort, that in time ther might be some remedy, & so by his great knowledge he brought the prince hether vnto his habitation, and put him into a quadran full of fire, whereas he is continually burning, and without ceasing he crieth out & giueth terrible shrikes,³ & cannot come foorth of that quadran. And when he was put therin, he said that by no manner of wise he could be cleere of that great torment and peine, till such time as a knight, who by his bounty & prowesse, should come vnto the fountaine of the sauage people and drinck of the water, and drinking therof, he shuld discover the entry into this habitation, as you haue discovered the same. And how y^t this knight by the great loyalty of his loue should supply the great disloyalty of the prince, & how hee should take him forth of that quadran wheras he is, by y^o

³ Cf. Shakespeare's *Tempest*, I, 2, 275-296.

force and strength of his armes, first getting the victorie by battaile, and how that after hee is deliuered from that place, he should receiue and take me to bee his spouse, & tell the truth of all that has passed. This beeing ordained and done, my father died, and heere I doo remaine all alone very sad and sorrowfull for his death, and with great grieve and compassion of the prince, for that ther cannot be a more grievous thing in the world then to heare him shrike and lament. And although the king his Father did know of a certaintie that the wise man his brother did bring him hether vnto this habitation, to bee reuenged on him, yet for all that, hee could neuer finde the entrie into it, although hee hath procured by all meanes y^t euer was possible. So that the king and the queene his mother, and all the rest of the kindome doo liue in great sorrow and heauinesse for the losse of the prince; for this habitation hath an other entry by a Caue, which in all the world doth beare y^t fame, but the entrie thereof is so perilous and dark that there is no humane knight dare enter it, and there is none but I alone that doth know of this entry into the valley. And seeing that you, most venturous knight,⁴ is hee, by whom my Father saide should bee concluded and finished, this aduventure. . . . (*The Second part of the first Booke of the Myrrour of Knighthood*. London, 1599 f. 94).

The Spanish original of this passage is as follows:

Y como mi padre conociesse del tan gran deslealtad, primero que muriesse quiso vengar su injuria, y la mia, de tal manera que en algun tiempo tuuiesse remedio; y assi por su saber truxo al Principe a esta su morada, y pusole en vna quadra llena de fuego, donde esta quemandose, y dando grandes gritos sin cessar vn pūto, y sin poder salir de la quadra. Y puesto alli, le dixo, que en ninguna manera podria ser libre de aquella pena, hasta que huuiesse vn cauallero que con su alta bondad pudiesse llegar a beuer del agua de la fuente de los saluajes, y beuiendola, pudiesse descubrir la entrada desta morada, segun que vos la aueys descubierto; y q̃ este cauallero cō la lealtad de su amor, suplira la deslealtad deste Principe, y le sacaria de aquella quadra donde estaua a fuerça de braços, ṽciendolo primero en la batalla; y despues de salido de alli que el me recibiria por esposa, y diria la verdad de lo que auia passado. Hecho esto, mi padre se murio, y yo quede aqui sola muy triste por su muerte, y con gran pena y compassion del Principe, que es la mayor lastima del mundo de oyrle. Y aunque el Rey su padre tiene por muy cierto que el sabio su hermano por se vengar del le truxo a esta su morada, nunca ha podido saber ni hallar la entrada, por mucho que ha hecho buscar. Y assi el Rey y la Reyna su madre y todos los del Reyno viuen en gran tristeza por la perdida del Principe. Bien es verdad

⁴ Cf. Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, II, 2, 334.

que esta morada tiene otra entrada por vna cueua que en todo el mundo es bien nombrada; mas es su entrada tan temerosa, y tan obscura, que no ay hombre humano que se atreua a entrar por ella, y no sabe nadie, sino yo, que aquella sea la entrada deste valle. Y pues vos venturoso cauallero soys aquel por quien mi padre dixo que auia de ser dada fin a esta auentura. . . . (*Espejo de Principes y Caualleros*, Çaragoça 1617 p. 119).

In conclusion I copy the passage about the mysterious noises⁵ which deterred people from approaching the cavern described above:

So after that betwixt them there had passed very much talke, they determined to goe vnto the court of the king *Polidarco*, and they departed from that place, hauing in their company the faire *Pinardo*, & went through the famous caue of *Phenicia*, where of hath been spoken so much, & there they did vnderstand the occasion of that terrible & fearefull noyse which continually was there heard, for the which there was none that durst giue the enterprise to goe into the caue, and was by reason of the valley which the knight of *Cupid* found himselfe in, at such time as he was taken into the fountaine of the Sauages, was so deepe, and compassed about with such high and mightie rocks, so that neuer any man could enter in, neither could they climbe vp vnto the top of those mountaines, nor come to the knowledge of any such valley that was in that place amongst those rocks, and vnder those rocks and mountaines there was a caue that passed through, which was very obscure and darke, and also narrow, by reason whereof, together with other open parts in the same Rock, the ayre dyd enter in, passing through from the one side vnto the other, and the noise was so great that it made in the same Caue, and by cliffes thereof, that it was very timerous and fearefull to beehould, in such sort that there was none durst enter in there at, wherevpon it was called the terrible Caue of *Phenicia* (*The Second part of the first Booke of the Myrroure of Knighthood*. London, 1599 f. 96).

JOSEPH DE PEROTT.

CLARK UNIVERSITY.

⁵ Cf. Shakespeare's *Tempest*, III, 2, 144-152.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MORT ARTHUR THEME IN MEDIAEVAL ROMANCE

AT the time that I was preparing my edition of the Old French prose-romance, the *Mort Artu*¹ (Halle, 1910), *i. e.*, the last division of the so-called Vulgate or Walter Map cycle of the Arthurian prose-romances, I did not have leisure to work out in detail the relations to one another of the different mediaeval versions of the final incidents in Arthurian story, so that I was compelled to content myself with a mere list of these versions (pp. VIII ff.) and with the statement (p. XII, note 1) that, in my opinion, with the exception of the *Didot-Perceval* (in its last section)² and the Middle English alliterative *Morte Arthure*,³ they were all nothing but later modifications of the *Mort Artu*. Geoffrey of Monmouth and his derivatives are, of course, also excluded from this generalization. It is the purpose of the present article to establish the correctness of this opinion and to consider as far as necessary the relations of the two last-named works to the *Mort Artu*. From these matters I shall proceed to a consideration of the sources of the *Mort Artu* and to an examination of current theories concerning the development of the prose-romances.

¹ All references to this romance in the present article are to my edition, which reproduces the text of MS. 342 of the Bibliothèque Nationale and adds collations from some other MSS. Dr. H. O. Sommer has also recently edited it in his *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, VI, 203 ff., Washington, 1913. The text, however, which he reproduces, viz., that of the British Museum MS. Additional, 10294, is distinctly inferior to that of MS. 342—so much so that at pp. 277 ff. he is forced to relegate it to the foot-notes and substitute for it in the body of the page the text of the British Museum MS. Royal 20. C. VI, which, as I had pointed out in my edition, was the nearest to MS. 342 of all the British Museum MSS. To be sure, Dr. Sommer gives collations at the bottom of the page from the other MSS. in the British Museum and from MS. 342, and he also utilizes these MSS. in his text. In the present article I employ "*Mort Arthur*" as a convenient designation of any version of the last division of Arthurian story.

² Edited by E. Hucher in his *Le Saint Graal*, I, 415 ff. (Mans, 1875), and from a better (Modena) MS. by Miss J. L. Weston in *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 9 ff. (London, 1909). The brief *Mort Arthur* division (if we include Arthur's wars with the French and the Romans) covers pp. 84-112 of the latter edition.

³ Edited last by Mary Macleod Banks, London, 1900.

I.—VERSIONS OF THE *Mort Arthur* THEME OUTSIDE OF THE CHRONICLES

My full list was as follows: (1) *Mort Artu*.—(2) Malory's *Morte Darthur*,⁴ Books XVIII, XX and XXI. As far as Books XX and XXI are concerned (the part of the narrative which extends from the scene in which Arthur comes upon Agravain and his brothers discussing the intrigue of Lancelot with Guinevere down to the end), they coincide with ll. 1672–3969 (end) of the Middle English poem in eight-line stanzas called *Le Morte Arthur*,⁵ and the two evidently go back to a lost French original (in prose).—(3) Lines 1–1671 of the Middle English stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, which gives a somewhat different version of the incidents covered by the corresponding portion of Malory, viz., his Book XVIII. There can be no doubt, however, that the English poem is here also following a (lost) French original (in prose).—(4) The Spanish *Demanda del Sancto Grial*⁶ (Toledo, 1515 and Seville, 1535). The *Mort Arthur* portion of the corresponding Portuguese *Demanda*⁷ is still unprinted, but these Portuguese and Spanish versions differ so little that for the purposes of our investigation they may be treated as one. Both represent a French original, which, as far as the *Mort Arthur* is concerned, has been preserved in part in MS. 340 (early fourteenth century) of the Bibliothèque Nationale.—(5) The Italian *Tavola Ritonda*,⁸ which also represents a lost

⁴ Edited by H. O. Sommer, 3 vols., London, 1889–1890.

⁵ Last edited by J. D. Bruce for the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. 88 (1903). It is preserved in the unique MS. Harley 2252 (British Museum).

⁶ Reprinted in the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles bajo la dirección del Excmo. Sr. D. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo*, in the volume entitled *Libros de Caballerías, Primera Parte, Ciclo artúrico = Ciclo carolingio, por Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín*, Madrid, 1907.

⁷ Preserved in the unique Vienna MS. 2594 (Imperial Library). It has been printed only in part: *A História dos Cavalleiros da Mesa Redonda e da Demanda do Santo Graall*, edited by Karl von Reinhardtstoettner, Berlin, 1887. The printed portion does not reach the *Mort Arthur*. The only passage from the *Mort Arthur* of this version yet printed will be found in Otto Klob's article, "Dois episódios da Demanda," *Revista Lusitana*, VI, 338 ff. (1901). Alexander Klein is preparing an edition of the whole work. For H. O. Sommer's collation of the two *Demanda's* (Spanish and Portuguese) see *Romania*, vol. 36, pp. 543 ff. (1907).

⁸ Edited by F. L. Polidori, Bologna, 1864–5, from MS. Pluteo XLIV, 27, of the Laurentian library in Florence. For the *Mort Arthur* portion see Part I, pp. 524 ff.

French original.—(6) The Middle English *Morte Arthure* (in alliterative verse).—(7) *Didot-Perceval*.⁹ Besides these versions I gave (pp. XXIV f.) a list of versions from foreign languages which appeared to me to have no independent value, as their dependence on the *Mort Artu* was too evident. They were:—(1) Two German versions.¹⁰—(2) A Dutch metrical version.¹¹—(3) Two Italian versions, one in prose, a close translation of the printed text of 1533 (Philippe Le Noir),¹² and the other metrical. The latter (probably first half of fifteenth century) is called *Li Chantari di Lancellotto*,¹³ and the material is here handled more freely.—(4) A fragmentary Hebrew version (dated 1279).¹⁴ To be sure, in her *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*, ch. XI (London, 1901), Miss J. L. Weston ascribes a certain importance to the Dutch metrical version, but in his review of this work, *Folk-Lore*, XII, 486, ff. (1901), W. W. Greg demonstrated that her theory of the opposing groups—on the one hand, the Dutch *Lancelot*, the 1533 print (Le Noir) and Malory, on the other, the British Museum MSS.—was “a pure phantasm,” which was due to her taking as the basis of her comparison Dr. Sommer’s incorrect analysis (in vol. 3 of his edition of Malory), instead of the texts offered by the MSS. them-

⁹ In her above-mentioned edition of this romance, p. 1, note, Miss Weston proposes that it should be called “the prose *Perceval*”; but the old designation, *Didot-Perceval*, is too well established to discard.

¹⁰ Only one—that of Ulrich Fueterer (fifteenth century)—has been published. See A. Peter’s edition, vol. 175 of the Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart (1885). The *Mort Arthur* portion begins at page 326. The fuller German version on which this one is based has not yet been printed.

¹¹ Book IV of the *Roman van Lancelot*, edited by W. J. A. Jonckbloet, The Hague, 1846-9.

¹² *L’illustre et famosa istoria di Lancillotto del Lago*, 3 vols., Venice, 1557-8 (also 1558-9). The *Mort Arthur* begins Libro III, fol. 372 a.

¹³ The only edition worth considering is that of Walter De Gray Birch, London, 1874, and even this does not give a very accurate text.

¹⁴ Published by Berliner in his *Otsar Tob*, 1885, and translated into English by M. Gaster, *Folk-Lore*, XX, 277-294 (1909). The translation appeared (Sept. 30) after I had finished the correction of the proofs of my edition of the *Mort Artu*, so that I could not mention it in my list. See too M. Schüler’s article on this Hebrew version in Brandt’s *Archiv*, vol. 122, pp. 51 ff. (1909). Schüler is inclined to believe that the Hebrew text is translated from an archaic redaction of the prose-romances. In her review of Gaster’s article Miss Weston, *Folk-Lore*, XX, 497 f., rightly disputes this. The version differs, however, from the usual text of the Vulgate *Mort Artu* only in a few insignificant details. The forms of some of the names are, perhaps, the most interesting variants.

selves. The Dutch poem condenses somewhat, as in the omission of the arrival of the dead body of the Maid of Ascalot at Camelot, but otherwise the version follows so closely the ordinary text of the Vulgate *Mort Artu* that it would be supererogatory to record the slight differences of detail, which are no greater than are found commonly in the MSS. of the French original.¹⁵ With the *Chantari di Lancelotto*, however, it is different. Although the text, in my opinion, has manifestly no authority as against the MSS. of the *Mort Artu*, it unquestionably exhibits considerable departures from the narrative of the French romance, and since in her review of my edition, *Romania*, XL, 133 f., Miss Weston attaches some critical value to the Italian poem among the treatments of the Mort Arthur theme, I will include it in the following study and give these variations detailed consideration. The method of my article will be to state the points in which the particular version under discussion differs from the Vulgate *Mort Artu* and then to attempt an explanation of the cause of variation.

There would be no advantage for the purpose of this article in enumerating the points of agreement between such a version and the *Mort Artu*, my object being merely to make clear whether there is any necessity for attributing to an earlier source features in which the particular version varies from the Vulgate *Mort Artu* or whether we may not reasonably explain such features as mere additions or modifications of the *Mort Artu*. For convenience' sake I shall discuss the versions in the order of my original list. It is impossible to determine in any conclusive manner the relative dates of the French originals of these versions, so that the principle adopted in that list of enumerating them in the order of their comparative closeness to the *Mort Artu* text seems as good as any other.¹⁶ The fact that the Vulgate *Mort Artu* exists in from thirty to forty MSS., at least seventeen of which date from the thirteenth century, whereas

¹⁵ In the Dutch poem the passage about Gawain's slaying of the knights of the Grail-Quest, which begins the narrative in the Vulgate *Mort Artu*, is transferred to the end of the *Queste*-section. In her *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*, p. 137, note, and elsewhere Miss Weston attributed to this fact an importance which it did not possess. See my article in this journal, vol. III, pp. 173 ff. (1912). I have also pointed out there that Miss Weston is wrong, when she asserts that the 1533 print has the same arrangement.

¹⁶ There is, doubtless, a departure from this principle in the case of No. 3; but we have here a variant narrative for only a part of the romance.

the variant versions which I am about to discuss survive only in early prints or in late MSS. that, except in the case of the *Tavola Ritonda*, are unique, surely creates a strong presumption against the originality of the latter. It is to be noted too that the condensation which is characteristic of all these versions had already begun in the MSS. For a conspicuous illustration of this cf. my edition of the *Mort Artu*, p. 102, note 7. The British Museum MS., Royal 19, C. XIII, is an excellent example of a condensed recension. I have recorded in my edition the omissions and variants of this MS.

1. Malory's *Morte Darthur*

The Mort Arthur division of this compilation consists of Books XVIII, XX and XXI. Book XIX has nothing to do with this theme. It deals with Lancelot's protection of Guinevere against Mellyagraunce and his healing of "Syr Vrre of Hongry."

Let us first take up Book XVIII, which corresponds to pp. 1-92 of MA (the Vulgate *Mort Artu*). In the comparison I omit nothing of importance, but it would be worse than useless to record the minuter differences of detail that have no significance. Moreover, the effort at condensation in Malory is so obvious that I note only the more important omissions which his text exhibits as compared with MA. The result shows clearly, I believe, that Malory's narrative is merely a modification of the Vulgate text as we have it preserved in the numerous MSS. and early prints recorded in the Introduction to my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. XII ff. The references to M (Malory) are to Sommer's edition,¹⁷ vol. I. I do not mean to imply, of course, that the changes in M are Malory's own. In all but a few unimportant matters it is virtually certain that they are due to his French source.

¹⁷ In this edition, III, 220 ff. and 249 ff., Sommer has compared the above-mentioned Books of Malory with the corresponding portions of the Vulgate *Mort Artu* according to the text of the 1513 print. For some corrections of his views see my article, "The Middle English metrical romance, *Le Morte Arthur* (Harleian MS. 2252): its sources and its relation to Sir Thomas Malory's '*Morte Darthur*,'" *Anglia*, XXIII, 67 ff. (1900).

Neither Sommer nor myself, however, endeavored to settle with precision just the question which is the subject of the present article. Generally speaking, in my article I left this question open—only at one point (in the account of Arthur's death) I assumed (p. 74, note) that Malory's source was not directly

Pages 725 ff., ch. 1-2.

M suppresses the passage MA, pp. 1-3, concerning Bors' return from the quest of the Holy Grail and the number of knights slain therein (especially Gawain's slaying of Baudemagus). He substitutes a few lines describing the joy of the king and queen at the return of the knights. The substitution is plainly due to the desire to condense. As in MA (p. 3) Lancelot soon forgets his good resolutions and renews his intrigue with the queen—only it is said that many ladies sought Lancelot to be their champion, and, as far as he could, he withdrew from Guinevere's company, so that she accuses him of slackening in his love. He puts down his slackening to his experience in the quest—moreover, he understands that Agravain and Mordred are lying in wait for them. His tone throughout is rather priggish. Guinevere is offended and tells him to leave the court, which he does. There is nothing of this in MA. As a matter of fact, the *motif* of Guinevere's jealousy is taken by an ill-judged anticipation from MA, pp. 59 f., where it had an adequate cause—Lancelot's affair with the Maid of Ascalot. Lancelot's priggishness is due to the author's desire to harmonize this portion of the narrative with the *Queste*, which immediately preceded it. In every particular M is here obviously less original than MA. He is merely modifying that work.

Pages 728 ff., ch. 3-8.

In M the incident of the poisoned fruit and Mador de la Porte begins at ch. 3 and the whole episode is told at one stretch. In MA it is interwoven with the episode of the Maid of Astolat (Ascalot). There can be no question that the interwoven episodes exhibit the more primitive arrangement. The motive for simplifying what was intricate would be obvious.¹⁹ Not so *vice versa*. This impression

dependent on the Vulgate *Mort Artu*. This, however, was at the beginning of my Mort Arthur studies and the assumption was ill-advised. In any case, the fact that the *Mort Artu* is now accessible in modern editions makes such a study as the present easier to undertake and easier to control.

¹⁹ Sommer, III, p. 229, offers what is at first blush the plausible suggestion that M makes this change because he had intercalated at this point the story of Lancelot's rescue of Guinevere from Mellyagraunce (Book XIX) and that consequently if he had left the Mador de la Porte episode where it was in MA we should have had two very similar episodes coming, the one just after the other. After all, however, I believe that M is here merely following his usual method

is confirmed by differences of detail in M. According to MA, pp. 63 ff., a knight, named Auarlan, wished to kill Gawain, and at a feast which Guinevere was giving, he handed her some poisoned fruit expecting her to pass it on to Gawain, but she unsuspectingly passed it to Gaheris de Caraheu, brother of Mador de la Porte. He ate of it and dropped dead at once. Mador turns up and accuses the queen of his brother's death. She is given a respite of forty days in which to find a champion—else she will be burned. Ultimately Lancelot comes in disguise, vanquishes Mador and saves Guinevere.

In accordance with his conception of Guinevere's jealousy's beginning shortly after Lancelot's return from the quest, M represents that she gave this dinner to show that she was not dependent on Lancelot's company. This touch was a natural consequence of the change in the order of the narrative. The motive of Sir Pinel (Pyomel), who in M corresponds to the Auarlan of MA, proves the lateness of M's version. He is endeavoring to revenge the death of his kinsman Sir Lamorak de Galys. But this is taken from the prose *Tristan*,²⁰ which is certainly later than MA. In M the poisoned man (here called Patryse) is merely a cousin of Mador's, which seems less primitive. The same thing is unquestionably true of the detail in M, according to which Guinevere is given (p. 730) a respite of fifteen days instead of forty, as in MA (p. 73). Forty days was the period actually allowed by mediaeval custom in such cases.²¹

of simplifying and condensing. In exactly the same way he tells, each by itself, the Roman war and Mordred's treason, which in MA are interwoven. So, too, with Guinevere's flight to the convent, although here in MA the interweaving is not so marked. M even objects to the renewal of conversations which have once been dropped, as where Gawain (Book XX, ch. 1) is warning the king of the danger of listening to Agravain's tales concerning Lancelot. He must give the conversation once for all. See the discussion of these matters in the appropriate places below. It may be remarked, besides, that there is, after all, no resemblance between the Mellyagraunce and Mador episodes except in regard to the combat that ends each. But these would be in any event separated by a considerable interval of narrative between—certainly by as great an interval as in MA separates Lancelot's rescue of the queen from Mador (pp. 90 f.) and Agravain (pp. 108 ff.).

²⁰ See the account of the killing of Lamorak in E. Löseth's *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, p. 167, Paris, 1890. Cf., too, Malory, I, 513.

²¹ Cf. the note in my edition of MA, p. 279.

In M, as in MA (p. 87), the king advises Guinevere to appeal to Bors for aid. She does appeal, but only once (p. 731), instead of twice, as in MA (pp. 84, 87). The king's appeal to Gawain (p. 86) on her behalf is wanting in M. These changes are clearly due to an effort at condensation. We should, no doubt, explain in the same way the fact that in M, after only a brief reproach as to her driving Lancelot from court, Bors, being urged by Arthur, promises to act as her champion—and this before he has seen Lancelot and consequently before he knows that Lancelot will be her champion. This spoils the situation, as we find it in MA, where Bors, although knowing that his redoubtable cousin is going to appear in the end as her champion, plays on her terror and makes her taste some of the bitter fruits of her own jealousy in driving Lancelot away.

Unimportant differences of the narrative in M are (1) that Bors is actually about to go forth to fight Mador.—Lancelot is so long in coming, (2) that after Mador is unhorsed by Lancelot, the latter continues the fight on foot, only when challenged by his opponent to do so.

Finally the introduction of Nymuc (ch. 8) as a *dea ex machina* to reveal by her magical knowledge the real criminal in the poisoning incident and so to exculpate Guinevere is plainly unoriginal. Pages 738 f., ch. 8-9.

The tournament at Winchester, with which MA begins, is intimately connected with the episode of the Maid of Ascalot,²² and so, with the changed arrangement of M, had to come, like this episode, after the episode of the poisoned fruit and Mador's combat with Lancelot. In M Arthur is wroth with his wife from jealousy when she refuses to attend the tournament. In MA (p. 5) he expressly forbids her to go, it being his purpose to test the reports of her misconduct with Lancelot. M here, however, is clearly unoriginal, for, apart from the greater appropriateness of the narrative in MA, there had been no mention hitherto in M of Arthur's being suspicious of his consort's fidelity. In MA (at the beginning of the romance) Agravain had planted such suspicions in his mind. Here in ch. 8 M has that passage in mind, but he had himself suppressed

²² The identification of Astolat (Ascalot) with Guilford, like other identifications of Arthurian localities with well-known places in England, is no doubt due to Malory and not to his French originals.

the dialogue in question between Agravain and the king. When M makes Guinevere, after Arthur's departure, summon Lancelot and rebuke him for staying behind, this is merely a modification of MA (p. 5), in which he asks her consent to go and she grants it.

Before he sets out for the tournament at Winchester, Lancelot already announces that he is going to oppose the king's party. This is an anticipation of MA (p. 11), where Lancelot decides to oppose the king's party, because the other side is weaker. So M, by the change, has left Lancelot's decision without adequate motive. It is a less important modification of MA (p. 6), when M makes the king recognize Lancelot in the garden of the father of the Maid of Astolat rather than when the latter is riding through the street beneath the windows of the castle where Arthur is staying.

The giving of definite names to the Maid of Astolat (here called Elayne le blank) and to her father (Bernard) and brothers (Tirre and Lauayne) is a sign of lateness in M. In MA they are all unnamed.

Pages 741 f., ch. 10.

Insignificant differences of M are (1) that the night before the tournament Lancelot and Elayne's brother lodge at the house of a rich burgess instead of with the latter's aunt, as in MA (p. 9), (2) that the king would not let Gawain take part in the tournament, because, "as the Frensshe book saith," Gawain had always shown himself inferior to Lancelot. The latter detail is an anticipation of a *motif* which is prominent later in MA (pp. 179 ff.).

The list of knights who take part in the tournament is one of the obvious signs of lateness which is found frequently in M. In the more primitive narrative of MA only the leading characters are named. Note too the occurrence in this list of "Syre Galahad the haut prince"—that is, Lancelot's famous friend who had died long before these events.²³ This is a blunder of M's.

Pages 743 ff., ch. 11-13.

M makes Lancelot recognize Bors who had wounded him in the fight. He spares him, accordingly, as he does also Hector and Lionel. This change of conception compels M, moreover, to drop

²³ See the narrative of his death in the prose *Lancelot*, Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, IV, 155.

the rude but effective humour of the scene later on in MA (pp. 42 ff.), where, much to Bors' embarrassment, Gawain lets Lancelot know that it is Bors who has wounded him. MA is here evidently more primitive. In M (p. 745) at the end of the tourney "Galahaut the haute prynce" and his companions try in vain to induce Lancelot to go home with them. Nothing corresponding in MA. Still further, in MA (p. 15) after the tourney the brother of the Maid of Astolat takes Lancelot back to his aunt's and calls in a knight who possessed medical skill. In M he takes him to a hermit to be cured. This was suggested by anticipation, no doubt, from a later incident in MA (p. 68). The fact that the hermit is identified with a knight—Baudewyn of Bretayn—who figures in the Merlin section of Malory's compilation (pp. 43, 44 et passim), is, of course, also a sign of late composition, since the source of that section is a *Merlin* of the late *Huth-Merlin* type.

Pages 748 ff., ch. 13-15.

Owing to compression, M makes Gawain visit Astolat only once. This visit corresponds to the first one in MA (pp. 18 ff.). In M, moreover, Gawain does not court Elaine, as he does in MA (p. 19). On the other hand, he tells her here of Lancelot's wound (received in the tournament). This modification in M was necessary, since in his version the wounded Lancelot went into a hermitage to be cured, not to Elaine's aunt. In MA (pp. 32 f.) he went to this aunt's, and so it was natural that she should chance to light upon him there. In M some new means had to be devised to bring her to the hermitage. It is a less significant difference that in M she nurses Lancelot through the greater part of his illness, whereas in MA she only sees him, after he has been at her aunt's a month or more. The narrative in MA throughout, however, is plainly more primitive.

It is again due to the desire to condense that M does not give either the conversation (MA, pp. 23 f.) in which Arthur tells Gawain of Lancelot's intrigue with the queen, or, later on, the episode (MA, pp. 45 ff.) in which, being lost in the forest, he comes to the castle of his sister Morgain la Fee and sees the pictures there that constitute a record of this same intrigue.

Pages 753 ff., ch. 16.

The main differences in this part of the narrative between M and MA are due to the fact that the former puts Bors' visit to Lancelot before the second tournament (in M not at Tanebor but "besyde Wynchestre") instead of after as in MA (pp. 42 ff.). The manner in which Bors finds out about the place where Lancelot lies ill is much more natural in MA (pp. 41 f.) than in M. He learns it through the father of the Maid of Ascalot, whereas in M, very awkwardly Lancelot gets her brother to place men on the watch in Winchester to look out for Bors. In accordance with this conception Bors does not go by Ascalot at all. The fact that he goes alone in M is due, no doubt, to compression. Moreover, the interview between Bors and Lancelot, as observed above (in the discussion of ch. 11-13), is different, since in M Lancelot had already recognized in the fight that it was Bors who had wounded him, so there is no place for such a scene of disclosure at this point. An unimportant difference is that in M Lancelot's wound bursts during Bors' visit, whereas in MA (p. 35) it is before.

Pages 756 ff., ch. 18-20.

M makes Gareth a prominent figure in the second tournament. After performing remarkable feats of arms, this knight withdraws, no one knows whither, just as Lancelot had done after the first tournament, both in MA and in M. We have manifestly here an imitation of that episode. M's partiality for Gareth has often been remarked on.

In M, after Lancelot has recovered from his wound, accompanied by Elaine as well as Bors, he leaves the hermitage and goes to Astolat. (In MA Bors and Lancelot, without Elaine, go to Camelot.) In MA (pp. 55 ff.) the fatal interview in which Lancelot rejects the Maid of Ascalot's offers of love occurs at her aunt's, where, in that version, he had passed the period of his illness; in M it is at Ascalot (Astolat). Obviously unoriginal features of M here are (1) that Lancelot, whilst rejecting the girl's offers, proposes in return to confer on her a dowry that will enable her to marry another knight, (2) that not only the girl but her father interviews Lancelot on the subject of her love. M, it may be observed, brings Lancelot to Camelot, because he wants him to be there, when the dead body of Elaine arrives.

The touching scene in M (pp. 759 f.) in which Elaine, feeling herself at the point of death, gives directions for the disposal of her body, does not appear in MA, as, indeed, the whole Elaine episode has been expanded in M. The passage was, of course, suggested by the conclusion of the episode in MA (pp. 74 ff.), where we see fulfilled the directions here given.

In M Gawain is not present when Elaine's body comes down the river to Camelot and he makes no confession that he has slandered Lancelot, by connecting his name with Elaine's. On the other hand, M (p. 762), differing from MA, represents that Lancelot was present at Camelot when the body arrived, and that Arthur had the letter to Lancelot that accompanied it read to him. In MA (pp. 75 f.) this letter was addressed to all the knights of the Round Table and contained reproaches in regard to Lancelot's rejection of the girl's love. In M it is addressed to Lancelot and begs him to have the last rites performed for her. This feature of the narrative in M, that the girl brings home his cruelty to the lover that caused her death by committing to him the charge of her burial, greatly heightens the pathos, but it is plainly less primitive than MA. No one with such a narrative before him would have been likely to have taken the backward step of diminishing its fine pathos. Since M made Lancelot so prominent in this scene, it is natural that he should have left out Gawain.

In the interview between Lancelot and Guinevere that follows, as throughout Book XVIII, M represents the former as cool in his attitude. There is nothing of this in MA.

Pages 763 ff., ch. 21-25.

In M when the third tourney is proclaimed, Guinevere bids Lancelot wear her sleeve of gold on his helmet. This is, of course, an imitation of the Maid of Ascalot episode in MA. (In MA it is to be remembered, Lancelot was not at Camelot in this part of the narrative, so Guinevere in that version could not have asked Lancelot to wear her token). Then with Elaine's brother he goes to the hermit in Windsor Forest, in order to rest, but there he is accidentally wounded by a lady in the forest who is a huntress. (In MA, p. 67, it was a huntsman.). Nevertheless, owing to the hermit's treatment, he is well enough to attend the (third) tournament in disguise. Not so in MA (p. 68).

The remainder of Book XVIII in M is given up to a description of the third tournament, which in MA (pp. 68 f.) is dismissed in a few lines. M is here clearly unoriginal. The main object of M's expanded description seems to be to glorify his favorite, Gareth, who is not mentioned here in MA. Like Lancelot in the first tournament in MA, Gareth fights against his own kinsmen. Indeed, the whole rather insipid account of this third tournament in M is manifestly imitated from that of the first tournament in MA.

To sum up the results of this comparison of Malory's Book XVIII with MA, we note especially the following features of the former:

1. The effort to tell episodes consecutively, instead of interweaving them, as MA does.
2. As a result of this effort, the episode of the poisoned fruit, coming first, is much more prominent in M than in MA, and an attempt is furthermore made to connect it causally with Guinevere's jealousy of Lancelot.
3. The fuller development of the story of the Maid of Ascalot, including changes to heighten the pathos.
4. The suppression of Hector, and in the latter part of the Book the effort to make Gareth prominent, which probably accounts for the very full description of the third tournament.
5. Lancelot's coolness towards the queen and his occasional priggishness, which is due, no doubt, to the effort at the beginning of the Book to harmonize the narrative with that of the *Queste*.

Let us now pass to the continuation of the Mort Arthur narrative in Malory's Book XX.²⁴

Pages 797 ff., ch. 1-2.

In M there is a long conversation between Agravain and his brothers about Lancelot's intrigue with the queen. Despite Gawain's remonstrances, Agravain, backed by Mordred, insists on telling Arthur of the affair. At this point the king enters. In MA (p. 92) the conversation is merely indicated and Agravain does not propose to disclose the intrigue to the king, although, when

²⁴ Of Book XX Sommer says, III, 250 f., that its source "stands in close relation to P. L. [i. e., MA in the 1513 print] or rather was derived from it with additions and modifications." Take also into account omissions, and the above statement is correct.

Gawain warns him of the king's approach, he refuses to be silent. Much of this conversation in M is taken by anticipation from the following conversations in MA. The whole effort of M here, as usual, is to simplify and condense. Accordingly in this version Gawain, Gareth and Gaherys leave the room at once, before Arthur asks what they were talking about, and we have no such dialogue as that which follows in MA (pp. 92 f.), in which Gawain tries to persuade the king to desist from his inquiry. Similarly, instead of taking the remaining brothers off to a garden and continuing the inquiry there, in M Arthur presses his questions on these brothers without quitting the spot. Moreover, in M no threats are required to extort an answer from Agravain. M also omits the fine scene in MA (pp. 95 f.), where Arthur, whilst brooding over Agravain's story, hears of Lancelot's new acts of prowess at the tournament of Charahes.

There are minor differences between the two versions, but the above are the really significant variations. Apart from the literary inferiority of M, it is obvious that this version is here secondary. There would be no reason for making intricate what was simple, whereas the motives for the opposite procedure are obvious, and, as a matter of fact, are operative throughout Malory's *Morte Darthur*.

Pages 799 ff., ch. 2-4.

A sign of lateness in M is the giving of a detailed list of the knights who, according to Agravain's agreement with the king, are to lie in wait for the purpose of catching Lancelot with the queen. The fondness for such catalogues of names, as has already been observed, is a marked feature of M. In this version Gaheries' attempt to avert Lancelot's meeting with the queen is omitted. Indeed, this is true of the whole paragraph in MA (p. 97) which begins "En tel maniere" and of that which follows it. Accordingly, only Bors warns Lancelot of the danger. Here again we have condensation.

In M when Agravain and his companions have surrounded the lovers and call out to Lancelot, there is a dialogue of some length between Lancelot and Guinevere—rather longer, perhaps, than suits the situation—in which he tries to comfort her and she vows fidelity to him. There is no reason to regard this as anything but a modification of MA. In the conclusion of this adventure there is no essential difference between the two versions.

Pages 803 ff., ch. 5-6.

In the narrative that follows after Lancelot has slain Agravain and escaped from the trap, M is fuller than MA. Notice the long interviews between Bors and Lancelot. There are transferences of material in the dialogue from one character to another, such as we find occasionally even in different MSS. of MA. Thus the fear lest the queen will suffer is expressed by Lancelot in M (p. 805), not by Bors, as in MA (pp. 102 f.). So too (p. 804) with the suggestion of the plan to prevent her execution. M, besides, leaves out Hector altogether. We have again in this version the characteristic catalogue of knights whom Bors summons to aid Lancelot. Most of these names do not belong to what we may call the standard Arthurian tradition. The reference to King Mark's murder of Tristan (p. 807), taken from the prose *Tristan*, is, of course, a sign of late composition.

Pages 807 ff., ch. 7-8.

In MA (p. 105) Arthur issues the command that Lancelot shall be arrested at his lodgings. In M this is different. Here the king speaks in praise of Lancelot, whereas in MA he merely seeks vengeance.

Evidently not primitive in M is Gawain's long attempt to excuse Lancelot on the ground that his visit to Guinevere may not have had any evil intention—so, too, the reference (p. 809) to Lancelot's having slain on a previous occasion Florence and Lovel, two sons of Gawain.

The narrative of the incidents which precede the bringing of Guinevere to the fire where she is to be burned for her adultery, of the fight in which Lancelot rescues her and kills Gaherys and Gareth, and of the escape of the lovers to Joyous Gard, follows the same general lines in M as in MA. The compression, however, which had already begun in the MSS. of MA in this part of the story²⁵ is in M carried so far as to spoil the effect of the French romance in its original form. The change by which in M Gaherys and Gareth are unarmed, at the time that they are slain, seems unfortunate.

²⁵ See the note in my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. 102 f.

Pages 811 ff., ch. 9-10.

In MA (pp. 113 ff.) Arthur takes active measures from the first to capture Lancelot—not so in M. Moreover, M shortens the king's lamentations over the slaughter of his knights. In M (pp. 812 f.) Gawain is told of Guinevere's escape and the slaying of the knights, including his brothers, before he goes to court. This spoils one of the finest passages in the whole of MA (pp. 116 f.), where Gawain passes through the street under the pitying gaze of the throng, who know of his brothers' death, although he does not. Furthermore, M abbreviates Gawain's lament over his brothers and leaves out altogether the account of their burial.

The preparations for following up Lancelot in MA (pp. 120 ff.) are much shortened in M (p. 814). Indeed twelve pages of MA (pp. 120-132) are represented by only half a page in M (pp. 814 f.). M omits Arthur's consultation with the barons, his filling the vacancies in the Round Table, and the whole episode of the damsel messenger, through whom in MA (pp. 128 ff.) Lancelot tries to avert the conflict.

Pages 815 ff., ch. 11-13.

In M we have a long conversation between Arthur and Lancelot in which the latter, speaking from the walls, defends his own conduct and the queen's. Lancelot's discourse here was suggested by a later passage in MA (pp. 148 f.), where, in finally surrendering the queen to her husband, he puts forward a somewhat similar defence. Then in M follows a long "flyting" between Lancelot and Gawain, which contains, among other things, references to an incident (Gawain's killing of Lamorak) in the relatively late prose *Tristan*. (pp. 149 ff.), after the surrender of Guinevere, when these two The "flyting," however, was plainly suggested by the scene in MA knights indulge in mutual reproaches.

In the entire account of the siege of Joyous Gard we observe in M a wholesale condensation of the narrative, as it stands in MA, so that a mere skeleton of the latter remains. Apart from omissions, in M Lancelot shows courtesy to the king in the first encounter of the hosts, not in the second as in MA (p. 142). In MA Hector is one of the most prominent figures in these encounters, but M, as usual, almost eliminates him. On the other hand, certain knights

(including Palamades from the prose *Tristan*) not in MA appear in M.

Pages 821 ff., ch. 14-17.

In M, as in MA, the Pope interferes, to put an end to the strife and to reconcile Arthur with his consort, so that on the representations of his legate, the Bishop of Rochester, Lancelot returns Guinevere to Arthur. But in MA (p. 144), although the king willingly takes back his wife, he declares that he will not renounce the war against Lancelot. In M, on the other hand, he wants to be reconciled with Lancelot, but Gawain won't permit it. This is an anticipation of MA (p. 147), where Lancelot's courtesy almost convinces Arthur of his innocence and he is given safe conduct out of the kingdom. Furthermore, in M, by a transference similar to what we observe elsewhere in this version, Lancelot carries on the conversation about returning the queen to her husband with the bishop, instead of with the queen herself and Bors, as in MA (pp. 144 ff.).

In the scene of reproaches between Lancelot and Gawain, after Guinevere has been given up, M (in the effort to condense) suppresses Bors' part in the conversation, but introduces an allusion to Lancelot's rescue of Gawain's brother from Turquyn, apparently, from the late unknown source of Malory's Book VII. Moreover, very inartistically, M inserts, by anticipation, into Lancelot's speech to Gawain just after the restoration of the queen the beautiful farewell to Logres which in MA (p. 153) he speaks after he has embarked, to return to his native land. This scene of reproaches between Lancelot and Gawain in M (pp. 823 ff.) is longer than in MA (pp. 148 ff.). M had already betrayed (pp. 815 ff.) a taste for such "flytings."

The offer of the knights to stand by Lancelot, if he refuses to leave Logres, is an addition of M's (pp. 828 f.). In M, before he returns to his dominions, Lancelot already declares his purpose of dividing his estates among his followers. This is an anticipation of MA (pp. 154 ff.), where this partition, effected after his return, is not mentioned before.

Pages 829 ff., ch. 18-22.

M indulges his taste for catalogues of names in the long list of knights (p. 830) advanced by Lancelot on the occasion of the above-mentioned partition.

In M Lancelot's knights upbraid him for allowing Arthur and Gawain to devastate his lands, when the latter have followed him across the sea and invaded his dominions. See pp. 831, 833, 834. This is plainly less primitive than MA (pp. 160 ff.), in which Lancelot shows no slackness.

The old woman's warning and prediction as to Gawain's end in MA (p. 159) are wanting in M. On the other hand, the narrative in M here shows some features that are evidently transferred from the earlier account of the siege of Joyous Gard in MA. (1) By a damsel (and a dwarf) Lancelot in M sends a message to Arthur to desist from his invasion. This seems a transference from MA (pp. 129 ff.) of the damsel-messenger whom Lancelot sent to Arthur at the beginning of the siege of Joyous Gard. (2) In M Gawain unhorses and wounds Bors. This, too, is, doubtless, transferred from the siege of Joyous Gard in MA, where (p. 140) we have a similar incident. (3) The wounding of Lionel in M is probably likewise taken from the same episode in MA (p. 136).

It is clearly due to condensation that the combat between Lancelot and Gawain in M (pp. 834 ff.) is a mere incident in the general battle, not a formal duel arranged after regular negotiations, as in MA (pp. 174 ff.). M intensifies still further Gawain's hostility to Lancelot, and so, differing from MA (p. 196), represents him (p. 836) as wishing to renew his combat with the latter, although the wound that Lancelot gave him had kept him in bed three weeks. This was doubtless suggested by the two phases (on the same day) of the duel in MA (p. 193), where Gawain compels Lancelot to continue the combat, although he (Gawain) is evidently too worn out for further fighting.

In M (pp. 835, 837) we have a duplication of the *motif*, as to Gawain's strength increasing with the advance of the sun up to noon. This duplication is plainly not original. In this second fight Lancelot (p. 838) strikes Gawain on the wound he had given him before. This, however, is an ill-judged anticipation of MA (p. 200), where the same thing happens to Gawain in Arthur's war with the Romans.

The above concludes the comparison for Book XX.²⁶ Let us

²⁶ In his edition of Malory, III, 265, Sommer says: "A minute examination of M's twenty-first book compared with the last ten folios of P. L. [i. e., the text

now take up Book XXI (the last Book of Malory's *Morte Darthur*), in which condensation throughout is very marked.

Pages 839 ff., ch. 1-2.

In MA (pp. 163 ff.) the narrative of Mordred's treason is inserted in the midst of the account of the war between Arthur and Lancelot. It is characteristic of M's simplifying method that he should finish the former entirely before beginning the latter (Book XXI, ch. 1). In M the letter which Mordred forges merely reports Arthur's death. It is not ascribed to the dying king and it does not enjoin the crowning of Mordred. We have here merely abbreviation, as indeed, unlike MA (pp. 164 f.), M does not give the text of this letter. The whole account of how Guinevere evaded marriage with Mordred is much compressed in M, which explains, among other things, why in this version nothing is said of her sending a message to Arthur, to warn him of her danger.

In M the "Bishop of Canterbury" threatens Mordred to make him desist from his pursuit of the queen, but in vain. He himself has to flee and become a hermit. We have here also an anticipation of MA, p. 244, when the Bishop tells Mordred that he (Mordred) is Arthur's son.

M omits entirely Arthur's war with the Romans, related in MA (pp. 197 ff.). This is due, doubtless, to condensation. Besides, it had already been described in Book V of Malory's compilation.

In MA Arthur had only one battle with Mordred²⁷—viz. at Salisbury, where the latter was killed and the former mortally wounded. In M under the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth (Book XI, ch. 1-2) or Wace, ll. 13,490 ff., there are three battles: (1) at Dover, (2) at Barham Down (near Canterbury), (3) at

of MA as found in the printed Lancelot of 1513] discloses many and great differences, but also here the ground-plan of the two accounts is the same, and the incidents common to both establish beyond doubt an intimate, though indirect, relation between the two versions; this fact points out either that the sources of both are derived from a common source, or that P. L. itself is the source of the French romance used by M." So he leaves the question of immediate source open. Apart from the *a priori* consideration, however, that, if M's source for Book XX were derived directly by modification from MA, his source for Book XXI must also almost certainly have stood in the same relation to that version, the facts do not warrant any distinction in the two cases.

²⁷ See the note on the subject in my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. 291 ff.

Salisbury. In M (pp. 841 f.) Gawain, being struck again on the old wound which Lancelot had given him, dies in the first battle. This is taken from MA (pp. 201 ff.), where in the account of the Roman war, suppressed by M, Gawain in exactly the same way receives from the Romans mortal blows on the old wound. We have also noted above M's (p. 838) ill-advised anticipation of this *motif*. In making Gawain receive his fatal wound at Dover, M is doubtless reverting to Geoffrey or Wace.

Although, generally speaking, M is here condensing MA, he makes (pp. 842 f.) a considerable addition in Gawain's dying letter to Lancelot. This letter was suggested, no doubt, partly by the letter of the dying Maid of Ascalot to Lancelot earlier in the romance and partly by Gawain's death-bed speech in MA (p. 212). It owes also something to Arthur's dream in MA (p. 219). Notice the absurdity in M (p. 842) that Gawain says in the letter that it was written two and a half hours before his death.

M, condensing, omits the whole story of the carrying of Gawain's body to Camelot and the Beloe episode (MA, pp. 215 ff.), in which the lord of Beloe slays his wife on account of the grief which she displays over the dead Gawain. In M (p. 843) Gawain is buried at Dover, not at Camelot.

Pages 843 ff., ch. 3.

M continues to condense the narrative of MA, so omits Merlin's prophetic inscription concerning Arthur's death in the latter (p. 222). Obviously for the same reason in M (p. 844) Arthur's dream of the Wheel of Fortune and Gawain's dream of the ladies whose causes he had championed (in MA it is the poor people he had succored) are put in the same night. Not so in MA (pp. 219 ff.).

An addition of M's (pp. 845 ff.) is the interview between Arthur and Mordred before the last battle, which, owing to mutual suspicion and the accidental stinging of a knight by a serpent, precipitated the conflict. MA (pp. 223 ff.) tells here at some length of Mordred's summons to Arthur to leave the kingdom and of the assembling of the hosts, but there is no suggestion of negotiations for peace and the above incident is wanting.

The long description of the final battle in MA (pp. 224 ff.),

covering twenty pages, is in M (pp. 846 f.) compressed into two. In MA (pp. 244 ff.), after Mordred has been killed and Arthur has been mortally wounded, the latter rides with Lucan and Girflet until night and the next day kills Lucan (unintentionally) by the strain of his embrace. In M (pp. 847 f.) the narrative is made more probable, inasmuch as Arthur here does not go so far and Lucan dies from his effort to lift the king. Moreover, Sir Bedivere in M takes the place of Girflet. The change is not a fortunate one, for ever since Geoffrey of Monmouth (Book X, ch. 13) it had been the uniform tradition of the romances that Bedivere fell in the Roman wars, which preceded the conflict with Mordred. In the famous sword incident (when Arthur orders the knight to throw into the lake the sword Excalibur, which is finally received by a hand rising up out of the waters) Bedivere in M continues, of course, to assume the rôle of Girflet in MA.

Following his usual custom, M gives (p. 851) definite names to the ladies who come in the ship that is to bear Arthur to Avalon.

Again following the custom which we have noted in the case of the poisoned fruit episode and the narrative of the Roman wars, M (pp. 851 ff.) tells at one stretch the story of Guinevere's becoming a nun. He condenses into a few lines the narrative of MA (pp. 208 ff., 252), eliminating among other things the queen's hesitation to take the irrevocable step. This step in MA (p. 252) she only takes after she learns that the kingdom is being seized by Mordred's sons, who she fears will kill her. In M it is after she has heard of Arthur's final battle. M suppresses altogether this episode of Mordred's sons, but he, of course, had it before him in MA, and it has left a trace in the obscure allusion to Lionel's death (p. 855), which in MA (p. 255) occurs in the war with these sons.

Instead of the narrative of the war between Mordred's sons and Lancelot, after the latter's return to England on hearing from Guinevere of Arthur's last battle and the troubles that ensued, M has substituted a visit of Lancelot to Gawain's tomb and Guinevere's convent. The substitution is due to a tendency which is constantly exhibited in the progressive development of Arthurian romance—viz., to replace pseudo-historical material with material of a more purely romantic character.

In MA (p. 263) Bors ended his life in the hermitage with the Archbishop of Canterbury, but according to M (p. 860) he went to the Holy Land. His words are: "How be it King Constantyn wold have had them [*i. e.*, Lancelot's companions who had survived him] wyth hym but they wold not abide in this royaume [*i. e.*, England] & there they al lyued in their cuntreys as holy men & somme englysshe bookes maken mencyon that they wente neuer oute of englund after the deth of syr Launcelot but that was but fauour of makers for the freysshe book maketh mencyon and is auctorysed that syr Bors syr Ector syr Blamour and syr Bleoberis wente in to the holy lande there as Ihesu Cryst was quycke & deed." The "frensshe book" is, of course, not MA, but the modification of it which M was following. That M should mention Constantine, son of Cadur, as Arthur's successor may well be due to Geoffrey of Monmouth, ch. 2 (or Wace, ll. 13,600 ff.), whose narrative, as we have already observed, has influenced him in his concluding chapters to change other details of MA.

It is evident from the above that M's changes of MA in Books XX and XXI, like those in Book XVIII, in nearly all instances are due to the desire to compress the narrative into a smaller compass. He effects his purpose, as before, by omissions and by combining conversations or episodes that are separated in MA. The process of compression, as I have remarked above, had already begun in the MSS. of MA.

2. The Harleian *Morte Arthur*

In my article in *Anglia*, XXIII, 87 ff., I have shown that the Middle English metrical romance, *Le Morte Arthur*, extant in the unique MS. of the British Museum, Harley 2252, and dating from about the end of the fourteenth century, has preserved in ll. 1-1671 a separate version of the Mort Arthur story down to the point where Agravain, after the Mador de la Porte episode, begins his machinations against Lancelot—a version which differs from M (Book XVIII) and from MA, although it is plainly based on the latter.²⁸

²⁸ For Dr. Sommer's inconsistent expressions of opinion in regard to the relations of M and MH, see my article in *Anglia*—just cited—also *ibid.*, XXX, 209 ff. From l. 1672 on the English poem has the same source as M, and its narrative is consequently substantially identical with M, so there is no need here of comparing this part with MA.

In the above-mentioned article I have compared the Harleian romance, which I will designate MH, with MA in such detail that it is unnecessary for me in this place to go over the ground again with the same thoroughness. I shall here discuss merely the most salient differences. In reviewing the subject I have found no reason to change the opinion expressed in that article (pp. 67 ff., 94, 99 ff.) that the (French) source of MH was merely a modification of MA, different from the modification represented by M's source and somewhat nearer to MA.

It will simplify matters, if I anticipate the results of the following comparison by saying that in MH we observe the same tendency as in M—namely, to condense MA by omissions and by combining in most cases scenes about the same incidents that are separated in MA. Indeed, in all but the episode of the poisoned fruit and Mador de la Porte, which is interrupted, as in MA, by the story of the death of the Maid of Ascalot, the writer tries to do away with the interweaving of episodes found in MA and to tell each consecutively by itself.

Lines 1-176.

The narrative corresponds in the main with MA, but Yvain takes the place of Girflet, who does not appear anywhere in MH. Girflet, however, was unquestionably a member of the king's household in Arthurian tradition (see my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. 295 f.) and his elimination in MH is a mark of its later composition. It points to the same thing that MH should here and elsewhere have a young knight named "Galehod" figuring with Lancelot. This is a duplication either of Lancelot's friend Galahot or his son, Galahad—more probably the former—both of whom were, of course, dead before the events related in the Mort Arthur branch of the prose-romances occurred. In fact, it is most likely that we have here a mere blunder on the part of MH or its source, the writer forgetting what had been the fate of one of the chief characters in the story of Lancelot. Whether the name is due to a blunder or to conscious duplication, it is in either case a manifest sign of late origin.²⁹

²⁹ As observed above, M also resuscitates "Galahalt the haute prince."

Lines 177-216.

In MH the Maid of Ascalot declares her passion for Lancelot in her first interview with him, and since he refuses her love, she asks him to wear her sleeve in the tournament. This change in MH is due to the usual effort at compression by combining things separated in MA. The first interview is described in MA, pp. 8 f., but MH combines with it features taken by anticipation from later passages about the Maid's fatal passion, MA, pp. 33, 35, 55 f.

Lines 217-543.

Differing from MA (p. 39), in MH (cp. ll. 416 ff.) the second tournament does not come off, because a herald brings to court news of the wounded Lancelot's condition. Then in both follows a search for Lancelot, but in MH (ll. 448 ff.) Gawain does not accompany Bors, Hector and Lionel. Gawain (ll. 520 ff.) only hears of the search later. Having learned that his friends have discovered Lancelot, he wants to see him too. Compare with all this MA, pp. 40 ff.

In the above-mentioned article in *Anglia*, pp. 90 f., I have recorded many other differences of detail between the two versions. These changes in MH were probably due to the author's desire to condense, although even in MA (p. 39) the description of the second tournament occupies only a few lines.

Lines 544-665.

The effort of MH here to condense is very marked. Gawain's two visits to Ascalot (MA, pp. 18 ff. and 41 ff.) are combined in one—the incidents of the first visit (which is really the most important) being transferred to the second for the sake of gaining a continuous narrative. Note, too, that in MH Gawain is represented as being alone at Ascalot, whereas in MA on the first visit he is there—at least, in the same town—with Arthur and on the second visit with Bors, Hector and Lionel. By these rearrangements and modifications of material MH makes one consecutive narrative of how Gawain hears of Lancelot's wearing the Maid of Ascalot's sleeve and of Guinevere's anger when she hears it (MA, pp. 28 ff.).

The principle of condensation is also responsible for the suppression in MH of the conversation in MA (pp. 23 f.), in which Arthur tells Gawain of Agravain's accusations against Lancelot

and the queen, and of the episode of Arthur's stay at Morgain la Fee's castle (MA, pp. 45 ff.), where he sees the pictures representing the intrigue of the lovers.

Lines 664-831.

To this whole passage which relates Lancelot's return to court and his interview with Guinevere, there is nothing corresponding in MA. Indeed, Arthur's lamentations on hearing of Lancelot's departure from the court in MH (ll. 808 ff.) contradict MA (p. 62), where he appears rather glad of it, since it tends to show that Lancelot was not guilty, after all, of a criminal intimacy with the queen. This was rather a subtle inference for the English poet, and it is possible that he and not his French original is responsible for the change just indicated. Lancelot's meeting in the forest with Lionel and Hector, who persuade him to return to court with them, by representing the grief that prevailed over his absence there, was suggested, no doubt, by a later passage in MA, pp. 81 f., where Bors and Hector likewise meet Lancelot in the forest and tell him of Guinevere's danger after the Mador de la Porte incident.

In MH (ll. 704 ff.) in the account of Lancelot's reception on his return to Camelot the queen has an interview with him, whilst Arthur is out hunting. In this she exhibits grief even more strongly than jealousy. In MA (pp. 45 ff., 62) Arthur was absent from Camelot, during the whole of Lancelot's stay there. He had been at Morgain la Fee's castle. Still further, in MA (pp. 56 ff.) when Lancelot came to Camelot, Guinevere, from anger and jealousy, refused to have anything to do with him, so in that version they have no interview. Bors (pp. 57 ff.) remonstrates with the queen—unsuccessfully—in an interview which MH has left out and it is finally on his advice (p. 61) that Lancelot leaves the court.

It is evident that MH is here exalting Lancelot's prestige and toning down the *motif* of jealousy which is so strong in MA.

Lines 832-1181.

Apart from omissions, MH here agrees more closely with MA than in any other part of ll. 1-1671. There is nothing in the poem, however, that corresponds to MA (pp. 66 ff.), where it is related that Lancelot was accidentally wounded by a huntsman and so

missed the tournament at Camelot (pp. 68 f.), whereupon Bors went in search of him. LL. 928 ff. imply, however, the wounding. In my *Anglia* article, pp. 85 f., I was inclined to explain this awkward feature in the narrative of MH as due to hurried condensation. At present, I am rather inclined to believe that the author of MH (or MH's source) was here working with a defective MS. of MA, from which at this point some leaves had dropped out. In any event the dependence of MH on MA is plain.

Lancelot's declaration in MH (ll. 944 ff.) that Guinevere will have a champion is anticipated from MA (p. 81) in the affair of Mador de la Porte. As I have already observed, this episode of the poisoned fruit and Mador de la Porte is broken by the narrative of the Maid of Ascalot's death, just as it is in MA. It is a difference of no importance that in MA (p. 78) the king himself decides to bury the Maid in noble fashion, whereas in MH (ll. 1112 ff.) he is advised by Gawain to do so.

Lines 1318-1495.

In MH, as in MA (pp. 84, 87), Guinevere makes two appeals to Bors when her life is in danger on account of the poisoned fruit incident, but in M nothing is said of Lionel and Hector. This unimportant addition may quite likely be due to the exigencies of the metre. Moreover, in MA (p. 86) it is Arthur who appeals to Gawain in this affair, not the queen herself. In this version (p. 82) Hector was going to champion voluntarily Guinevere's cause.

In MH (ll. 1495 ff.) it is after Bors has promised to help the queen (if no one else does) and not before, as in MA (pp. 82 ff.), that Bors meets Lancelot in the forest and learns that he will act as the queen's champion. So in MA Bors purposely makes her suffer. In MH Bors and Hector meet Lancelot at the same time, just as they do in some MSS. of MA (cp. p. 81, note 1), but Lionel was not with them in MA (p. 82).

Lines 1496-1647.

MH condenses greatly the narrative of MA—otherwise the differences here are none of them important and they are obviously such as MH might easily have introduced by the modification of MA. For example, in MA (p. 88) the king and queen are not at the table when Mador appears to make a difficulty over the poison-

ing of his brother, nor does Bors arm himself for the combat as he does in MH (ll. 1536 ff.), although even in the English poem he does not really expect that he will be called on to fight. In MA Arthur appeals to Mador to wait until vespers for a champion to appear. Mador consents, but Lancelot arrives before midday.

In MA (p. 90) Lancelot is not unhorsed in the duel with Mador, as he is in MH (ll. 1584 ff.), but voluntarily gets on foot, when he has unhorsed his antagonist, so as to be on equal terms with him.

Lines 1648-1671.

According to MH Guinevere is finally cleared of suspicion in regard to the death of Mador's brother by the confession of a squire who acknowledges that it was he who poisoned the fruit. There is nothing of this in MA, where Lancelot's victory in the trial by combat (p. 91) is taken as sufficient proof of her innocence.

3. The Spanish *Demanda* and the Portuguese *Demanda*

As I have already observed, the portion of the Portuguese *Demanda* which embraces the Mort Arthur division is not yet printed. Sommer's collation, however, in *Romania*, XXXVI, 543 ff., shows that it does not differ from the Spanish *Demanda* in any feature of importance, so it will be sufficient for our purpose to compare the latter with MA.

The Mort Arthur section of the Spanish *Demanda* begins with the second paragraph of ch. 391 (p. 313 of Bonilla y San Martin's edition)—that is to say, at the point (p. 92 of MA) where Arthur enters the room, whilst Agravain and his brothers are discussing Lancelot's intrigue with the queen.

In MA the tenor of the conversation is merely indicated, but D (the Spanish *Demanda*), like M,³⁰ gives the dialogue in considerable detail. The two (D and MA) agree in substance as to the ensuing conversation between the king and Gawain and Gaheriet, until the two last-named leave the room. Then, however, D obscures the narrative by leaving out MA, p. 93, l. 20 to p. 96, l. 22,

³⁰ The conversations in both derive hints from the passage in MA which they suppress, but they are not identical. I have observed no other coincidence between D and M, so this one is doubtless accidental—the result of condensation in both versions.

which describes, among other things, how Arthur had forced Agravain to tell what he was talking about. By this time Gawain has returned and resumes the conversation with the king. But D, although it had represented Gawain and Gaieriet as having left the room, joins on this second conversation to the first without mentioning Gawain's return.³¹ See end of ch. 393.

In ch. 394-418 (*i. e.*, down to the point where Lancelot's damsel-messenger returns to Joyous Gard after a vain effort to arrange a peace with Arthur) D follows closely³² MA (pp. 97-131). In ch. 419-422 (beginning) the narrative of MA (pp. 131-201) is hardly more than outlined, seventy pages being compressed into one. The narrative thus condensed is concerned with the siege of Joyous Gard, Lancelot's surrender of Guinevere to her husband, the king's invasion of Lancelot's dominions and Lancelot's duel with Gawain. There are here no differences, however, between D and MA, except those that are due to condensation.

After the first line, ch. 422 in D goes on to recapitulate how Mordred, having made himself king, had tried to compel Guinevere to marry him and was now besieging her in the Tower of London (*cp.* MA, pp. 163 ff.). At the end of this chapter the narrative is so condensed that the reader who was unfamiliar with MA would imagine that Kay and Gawain had fallen in Mordred's siege of the Tower rather than in the Roman war.

The remaining chapters of D, ch. 423-455, give a variant version of the Mort Arthur theme of which the most noteworthy part is the conclusion written under the influence of the prose *Tristan*.

The lateness of this version is really too obvious for discussion,³³ as will appear from the following outline of its main features:

In the final battle at Salisbury, according to D (ch. 424) Bleo-

³¹ The passage naturally puzzled the editor of D. See his note, p. 314.

³² There are some substitutions of characters, *e. g.*, ch. 398, Baudemagus for Yon (MA, p. 106), and ch. 410, Rion for the same character (MA, p. 121).

³³ Sommer has already remarked, *Romania*, XXXVI, 585 (1907), of the Mort Arthur section of the Spanish *Demanda*, that the writer "has undoubtedly taken the Vulgate [*Mort Artu*] as joined to the *Lancelot* as basis, but he has added many features of his own to this account." D refers, pp. 325-6, to "el libro del Baladro" (*i. e.*, the *Conte del Brait*). MS. 340 of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains the (unpublished) French original of the conclusion of D. See the summary in E. Löseth's *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, p. 409 (Paris, 1890).

beris slew Mordred and cut off his head. Arthur orders Bleoberis and the archbishop to have a tower erected on the field of battle. The heads of those who fell in the battle are to be set up on it, Mordred's highest of all, and an inscription concerning his (Mordred's) evil deeds, which is to include a curse, is to be set up also. The tower was called (ch. 425) *la torre de los Muros* (for *Muertos?*)—"E colgaron la cabeça de Morderec encima della. Y estuuu alli fasta que el rey Carlos passo a Inglaterra e fue a ver la torre." But the traitor Gabaron (Ganelon?) out of envy stole the head of Mordred one night and put it no one knew where. The tower, however, remained, "e avn agora estan ay dos muros della; e han nonbre *los muros de la torre de los muertos*, y es en el llano de Salaberos."

Arthur, mortally wounded, but still in his armor, leaves the battle-field with Girflet and Lucan (ch. 426) and, as in MA (p. 245), goes to the chapel, where he unintentionally kills Lucan, who is not in armor, by falling on him. He does not perceive at first (ch. 427) what he has done. Then he laments to Girflet over his changed fortunes. He and Girflet now ride to the sea (as in MA, p. 247).

After Bleoberis and the archbishop have finished the tower (ch. 428), the latter goes into a hermitage. The former, who has heard that Lancelot was coming to Logres (Londres) to wage war on Mordred's sons, goes wandering through the country (ch. 429) until he meets Artur el pequeño, son of King Arthur. They ride together, but when his companion learns Bleoberis' name and so knows that he is of the lineage of King Ban, he attacks him. Bleoberis tries (ch. 430) to dissuade him, just as Lancelot in MA (p. 182) had tried to dissuade Gawain, but in vain. Artur el pequeño is finally killed (ch. 431) and Bleoberis takes his body to an abbey and buries him honorably. This episode has nothing corresponding in any other version and is manifestly late.

In ch. 432-436 D offers no notable differences as compared with MA (pp. 247-251): here too we have the incident of Girflet and the sword and the account of how Arthur was borne away in a boat by Morgain and the strange ladies, the narrative continuing substantially the same down to Girflet's visit to the chapel. There

follows here, however, in D a modification of the narrative of MA which is evidently intended to harmonize that narrative with the Celtic tradition concerning Arthur's translation to Avalon.³⁴ According to D (ch. 437), on lifting the lid of Arthur's tomb in the chapel, he found it empty. The priest can't explain this and Girflet concludes that there is no use of inquiring further, "ca verdaderamente este fue el rey auenturado, a quien la su muerte ningun hombre no sabra, e bien me dixo a mi verdad, que bien assi como el viniera al reyno por aventura, assi se yria dende." Girflet stays at the chapel with the priest and dies in three months.

In D (ch. 438-441), as in MA (pp. 252 ff.), Mordred's sons try to seize the land and Guinevere becomes a nun. (The earlier passages in MA, pp. 209 f., about her taking refuge in the nunnery had been omitted in D.) So too Lancelot in D (ch. 440) crosses the sea to wage war against these sons. But according to D (ch. 441) there was in Guinevere's convent a girl who was a friend of Girflet's, and the queen loved her company, because Girflet was the last person who had been with Arthur. Guinevere's lament here that Lancelot had forgotten her was no doubt suggested by the message which she sends him in MA (p. 252).

In ch. 442 it is said that in the queen's convent there was also a woman who had loved Lancelot, though her love was unrequited. This character, like Girflet's friend, is plainly a late invention. The woman had become a nun from disappointment and she hated Guinevere from jealousy. Accordingly she brought false news to the queen that Lancelot and his host had perished at sea. (This was doubtless suggested by the false news which Iseult of Brittany gave Tristan in the *Tristan* poems, thereby causing his death.) Guinevere is stricken at the news and neither eats nor drinks. Four days later the truth comes out, but it is too late (ch. 443). The dying queen directs the girl who is Girflet's friend to take out her heart, when she is dead, and bear it to Lancelot. The girl tried to carry out the request but could not reach Lancelot.

As in MA (p. 255), Meliel, the older son of Mordred, kills Lionel (ch. 444) and is himself killed by Bors, whilst the other son

³⁴ I have remarked in my article, "The pretended exhumation of Arthur and Guinevere," *Revue Celtique*, XXXIII, p. 432, that MA had already attempted in some measure to reconcile the Celtic tradition with that of Glastonbury.

is killed by Lancelot (ch. 445). There is, moreover, no noteworthy difference between MA (pp. 256 ff.) and the account in D (ch. 446) of Lancelot's encounter with the Duke of Gorke (Gorre). The passage, following, however, relating how Lancelot joined the archbishop and Bleoberis in the hermitage (end of ch. 446) is greatly condensed. The conversation between the characters concerned (pp. 258 f.) is left out altogether.

After the battle of Winchester Bors leaves half his host in that city to wait for Lancelot (ch. 447), whenever he should turn up, and the other half he takes back to his dominions with him. In MA (pp. 259 f.) Bors does not thus divide his men. Then in ch. 448 D (differing in this from MA, p. 260) tells with some detail how Hector sought for Lancelot. After finding him (ch. 449) he remained with him and died there four years later, a few days before Lancelot. All this is as in MA (pp. 260 ff.), and the same is true of the following passage (ch. 450-1) concerning the burial of Lancelot and Bors' settling in the hermitage.

The above incidents conclude MA, but, beginning with the seventeenth line—"e quien bien catasse"—of ch. 451, we have in D an addition to the narrative of MA which has nothing to suggest it in Arthurian tradition and was evidently inspired by the prose *Tristan*. The purpose of the writer is to blacken still further the character of King Marc. It will be sufficient to indicate very briefly the contents of this curious addition, which are as follows:

First Merengis de Norgales joins the archbishop and Bleoberis in their hermitage. Then Marc, hearing of Lancelot's death, invades Great Britain and devastates the land, destroying even churches and monasteries and exterminating the inhabitants, as far as he can. He wishes to wipe out every sign of King Arthur's rule. At Joyous Gard he burned the bodies of Lancelot and his friend Galahot and threw the monument of the former into a lake whence it could never be recovered. He next proceeded to Camelot, defeated the inhabitants and destroyed the city together with the Round Table. After this four of King Marc's men come upon Merengis and learn from him where the hermitage of the archbishop and the rest is. They shrink from killing the occupants of the hermitage, but Marc has no such scruples. With one attendant he goes thither and kills the archbishop, but before he can

continue his murderous work, he is himself killed by an armed knight of the lineage of King Ban (his name is Paulos) who had just come to the hermitage. This knight binds Marc's attendant over to secrecy and the hermits bury the king himself in holy ground.³⁵

4. *La Tavola Ritonda*

This is the Italian compilation which is especially based on the prose *Tristan*, as indeed the full title is *La Tavola Ritonda o Pistoria de Tristano*.³⁶ The Mort Arthur, which is inserted in this work, as it is in some of the MSS. of the French original, covers only twenty pages (Part I, 524-545 in Polidori's edition). It accordingly gives only the salient episodes from the point in MA (p. 92) where Arthur comes in, whilst Agravain and his brothers are discussing the intrigue of Lancelot and the queen. Moreover, it gives these episodes with arbitrary alterations and additions that are found nowhere else and are plainly late in origin. In fact, as far as I know, no one has ever advanced the claim that TR (*Tavola Ritonda*) preserved any original feature of the Mort Arthur theme, not found in MA. It will be sufficient then to give an outline of the narrative which concerns us in this version. This narrative runs as follows:

After Arthur and his knights had avenged the death of Tristan on Marc, they had peace for some time. But peace encourages various vices and so it happened now.³⁷ Lancelot, however, was given up entirely to his passion for the queen, so that rumours of it spread through the city. Just then war breaks out between the King of Norgales and Amoroldo (= Morholt of the prose *Tristan*), King of Ireland. Lancelot and his kinsmen help the King of Norgales; Gawain and his kinsmen help Amoroldo. Amoroldo kills the King of Norgales, but Lancelot kills Amoroldo, and the field remains in the possession of Lancelot's side. They did not, how-

³⁵ This last statement contradicts the French original in MS. 340, which is more consistent. See Löseth, p. 409.

³⁶ Polidori's edition is based on a MS. of the first half of the fourteenth century. See his Introduction, p. li. For some kindred MSS. see my edition of the *Mort Artu*, Introduction, pp. xi, note 2, and xxv, note 2.

³⁷ This was suggested by MA, p. 3, ll. 7 f. The *motif* is more fully expanded in MH, ll. 20 ff.

ever, take the castle. Both Lancelot and Gawain return to Camelot. The latter hates Lancelot more than ever, because he has slain Amoroldo. He consequently defames Lancelot and Guinevere, so that Arthur too hates him (p. 527). Lancelot finds it advisable to retire to Joyous Gard with his kinsmen. Guinevere laments his absence and sends him a letter so that they may meet "*al palagio di messere Agrovalle il quale si e di fuori del porto di Lustriale*" (p. 528). They have an interview at this place but Gawain learns of their presence there from some of the queen's ladies who are returning to court. He obtains confirmation of what they say and goes back to court and tells Arthur. The king wants to go and catch them, but Gawain persuades him to leave the matter to him and his kinsmen. They go to the palace of Agrovalle and there is a fight in which Agravain is killed. Gawain is at last defeated and Lancelot escapes with the queen to Joyous Gard (p. 531).

As will be observed, Gawain here plays the part that Agravain does in MA, and the circumstances under which the lovers are entrapped are different. In what follows now concerning Arthur's wars with Lancelot at Joyous Gard and in the latter's dominions together with Mordred's treason and designs on Guinevere, apart from omissions, the differences are merely in detail. The Pope has no part in TR (p. 532) in bringing about the return of Guinevere to her husband. It is Ivain that intervenes. In the duel between Gawain and Lancelot (cf. MA, pp. 185 ff.) the two champions display a different spirit, as compared with MA. Knowing the peculiarity of his strength—that it increased up to midday and then declined—Gawain in TR (pp. 534 f.) wants the fight to take place in the morning. On the other hand, it is Lancelot's aim to defer the crisis in the combat until the afternoon, and with that object in view he tempts his opponent into a long conversation (p. 537). Then when Gawain, feeling that his strength is diminishing, makes overtures for the cessation of the combat, Lancelot will not consent—on the contrary, declares that he intends to kill him, as he has killed his brothers (p. 539). In the end Lancelot wounds Gawain severely. We have then nothing here of Lancelot's fine courtesy to his old friend, which is so conspicuous in MA.

In TR (pp. 535 f.) Mordred, who had been left regent of the kingdom in Arthur's absence, plays the same false part as in MA

(pp. 163 ff.). Here, too, the narrative of his treason is interwoven with the narrative of the war between the king and Lancelot. TR omits, however, the Roman war, and the fatal stroke which Gawain receives on the wound that Lancelot had given him is accordingly not delivered by a Roman but by Turinoro (p. 541), a nobleman who was coming to Lancelot's assistance. In the end Turinoro is slain and his host defeated. The king has Gawain's body conveyed to Camelot and buried there. The Beloe episode (MA, pp. 216 f.), however, is omitted. He then seeks Mordred at the castle (Urbano) which he is besieging. In the battle that ensues Arthur is overcome (p. 542). Accompanied by Ivain and a squire he flies to the seashore. Here Ivain dies from his wounds. Now we have (very briefly) the sword incident, the squire being substituted for Girflet. Next the strange boat appears and arms which are thrust forth from it take Arthur in.³⁸ It was thought that Morgain was in the boat and that she bore him to an island in the sea where he died and she buried him (p. 542).

Guinevere, still besieged by Mordred, sends a messenger to Lancelot, who comes, kills Mordred and rescues her, but *quasi tutta gente* on both sides are killed. Lancelot then enters the castle and sees the queen (p. 543). The squire who was last with Arthur arrives and tells of Arthur's fate. The queen, from remorse at being the cause of so many evils, falls dead. Lancelot buries her and has an inscription put on her tomb, which relates the story of Arthur, Guinevere and Mordred. He then adopts a religious life and dies after fifteen months. Every one then abandoned Camelot and went back to his own country.

5. *Li Chantari di Lancelotto*³⁹

This poem embraces the whole narrative of MA, but the account of the first effort to entrap Lancelot and Guinevere (corresponding to MA, pp. 3 ff. where Agravain acts alone) is strongly influenced by the account of the second effort in that romance (pp.

³⁸ As will be seen below, *Li Chantari di Lancelotto* imitates this.

³⁹ As stated above, unlike Miss Weston, I attach no importance to this late version. None of its main variations are supported by other versions. The book, however, is not a common one, so the following detailed comparison with MA may have some independent interest. It is not unlikely that this poem was based on some earlier Italian version in prose.

92 ff.)—so here from the start, as in the second account just referred to, we have more than one person taking part in the disclosure. The three enemies of Lancelot, however, who undertake this invidious task in the Italian poem (p. 2) are not Agravain and his brothers, Mordred and Gaheriet, but Mordred, Kay (Chieso) and Dodinel (Dudinello), the first-named being the spokesman. CL (*Chantari di Lancelotto*) stands alone among the versions in connecting with the first effort this feature which characterizes the second effort in MA, and I do not believe that any one will ascribe greater authority to this variation of the Italian than to the substitution of characters in the same passage.

Arthur is reluctant to credit this accusation of a knight whom he has so loved but the informers insist and induce him to order all his barons to go to the tournament at Winchester, so that they may catch Lancelot who is expected to stay behind with the queen. The influence of the second account in MA is particularly evident here. Compare the following stanza of the Italian (p. 3):

E'n questo mezo husando ta' ramanzi
 E lancelotto venne a re davanti
 E re non gli mostrò chome dinanzi
 soleva fare buon viso e bè sembianti
 onde vegiando tali stifichanzi
 il chuur gli giodichò che mà parlanti
 per la reina avesson messo isdegnio
 tra lui et re chon malizioso ingegno

with MA (p. 98): "Mais molt sesmeruilla Lanselos, quant il fu laiens uenus, de cou ke li rois, ki tant le siut biel apieler, ne li dist mot a cele fois, ains torna sa chiere dautre part, si tost com il le uit uenir. Il ne se perchut mie ke li rois fust si couroucies uers lui com il estoit, car il ne quidoit pas kil eust oies les nouieles ke Engreuains li auoit dites." To be sure, in contradiction to this last sentence of MA's, CL makes Lancelot suspect the true cause of the king's coolness, but this alteration is an anticipation of the passage at the bottom of the same page (98), where Bors suggests to Lancelot that Agravain or Morgain la Fee had been telling tales to the king.

Just as we have had in CL's account of the disclosures made to

Arthur concerning his wife's disloyalty an anticipation of a later passage, so we have the same thing in the next episode—that of the Maid of Ascalot. Here by anticipating MA, pp. 33 f. (her interview with Lancelot after the tournament at Winchester) the Maid is represented as confessing her love to Lancelot the first time she meets him, "et che volea chon lui giacer la sera." I attach no importance to the fact that we have the same confession of love in MH⁴⁰ (the Harleian *Morte Arthur*) ll. 177 ff. At most, this would merely indicate that the late French modifications of MA which these two versions reflect had some historical connection with one another. But, as a matter of fact, the preceding sections of this article abundantly prove that such anticipations were a regular accompaniment of condensation, so that occasional coincidences of this nature are bound to occur.

Lancelot's refusal of the Maid's love is also anticipated from MA, p. 33. The Italian, however, makes (p. 5) both sons of the lord of Ascalot (Sghaleotto) go with Lancelot to the tournament where he wears their sister's sleeve. This contradicts MA (p. 7), which says that one of them was ill and that Lancelot took his shield. This feature of MA was necessary for Lancelot's disguise and the variation of CL is, consequently, a mere blunder.

After the tournament in MA (p. 15) the wounded Lancelot went with the young knight of Ascalot to the house of the latter's aunt. In CL (p. 7) he parted company with the two brothers at a crossways and went to a vavassor's.

CL omits the episode of the knight who had been killed by a wild boar (MA, p. 16) and compresses into one stanza the whole affair of Gawain with the Maid of Ascalot (MA, pp. 18-22). Here, as in MA (pp. 25 ff.), Gawain informs Guinevere of Lancelot's supposed love for the Maid, but omits his conversation with the king (pp. 23 f.) concerning Agravaing's accusations against the queen.

There is no marked difference between CL (pp. 8 f.) and MA in respect to the narrative of Lancelot's illness and his consequent absence from the tournament that had been proclaimed to draw him out of his concealment. It is to be noted, however, that the Italian places the queen's conversation with Bors in which she re-

⁴⁰ It is to be noted, however, that in MH the Maid's brother is present, when she confesses.

proaches Lancelot for his conduct with the Maid of Ascalot after (instead of before) the scene in which the physician forbids Lancelot's attending this tournament. Cp. with this MA, pp. 29 ff. and 36, respectively.

CL (pp. 10 f.) simplifies the search for Lancelot (MA, pp. 39 ff.) by dropping Gawain from it and he compresses into one Bors' two visits to Lancelot in MA (pp. 42 ff. and pp. 59 ff.). Accordingly Bors afflicts Lancelot here with the account of Guinevere's jealous anger, which does not occur in MA until the second visit.

The Italian poem omits altogether Arthur's adventure at Morgain's castle (MA, pp. 45 ff.).

There next follows⁴¹ in CL (pp. 12-16) the account of how Guinevere saw the corpse of the Maid of Ascalot in the boat—then the poisoned fruit incident and the refusal of Gawain and the rest to champion the queen's cause. There are some differences of detail in CL, evidently not original. For instance, the poisoned fruit is brought in by a messenger (from whom is not said) in the midst of the dinner, which Arthur is giving to a strange knight. Bors is unwilling to act as the queen's champion (p. 16) for the unchivalrous reason that she

. . . gli avie tolto il suo tesoro
che gli schacciò il suo chugin charnale
onde ve lo volie però gran male.

At no time in CL does he promise to help her, if nobody else will.

The account of how Lancelot heard of Guinevere's peril and came to her defence, which in MA (pp. 78 ff.) covers ten pages, is here compressed into five lines (p. 17). Moreover, CL anticipates a later episode of MA (pp. 107 ff.)—when Guinevere is about to be burnt, after having been caught with Lancelot—in one detail, namely, when it represents the fire prepared for her execution as ready at the time of the rescue. There is nothing to make note of in the account of Lancelot's duel with Mador de la Porte (Amador della porta), except that the latter after his defeat returned melancholy to his own land (p. 19). The Italian characteristically remarks of Lancelot and Guinevere, that, after the

⁴¹ Here begins Chantare II of CL.

former's victory over Mador, had it not been for the presence of others she

cento fiate et più l'arie baciato
et di giostrar d'amor l'arie 'nvitato.

CL (p. 19) condenses into eight lines MA (pp. 92-97), which relates how a second time Lancelot's enemies tell the king of his intrigue with the queen. It does not name these enemies at this point—merely says that they were the same that made the first attempt—but later, when the ambush is actually laid, the writer repeats their names, Mordred, Kay and Dodinel (p. 20).⁴² As in MA (p. 99) Bors tries vainly to dissuade Lancelot from fulfilling the assignation with the queen. In both versions he takes his sword with him. The narrative throughout is extremely condensed. In the scene after Lancelot's escape he goes to Bors as in MA (p. 102), but Hector's advice (MA, pp. 103 f.) is omitted.

The queen⁴³ is brought in (p. 24) before Arthur, but there is no mention of counsellors. This appearance before Arthur, contradicts MA, p. 106, but such slight variations of details in this condensed narrative, which sums up whole pages in a few lines, have no importance. The same may be said of Guinevere's silence and imprisonment and of Arthur's pitiless bearing (pp. 24-26), which doubtless reflects contemporary Italian feeling on such subjects. The burning is to take place twenty miles from the city (p. 26). As in MA (p. 107), Gawain refuses to take part in the execution.

In CL's account of Lancelot's rescue of the queen (pp. 27 ff.) Lancelot and Bors make speeches (Lancelot's is two stanzas long) before beginning the attack. The poem does not say that Lancelot killed Agravain, but merely "hun chavalieri" (p. 28). Here (p. 29) it is Bors that killed Agravain and Lancelot Guerrehet (p. 30)—just reversing in each instance MA (p. 109). The two versions agree, however, that Gaheriet, whilst engaged with Hector, was killed by Lancelot, who did not recognize him (p. 31).

According to CL (p. 31) the queen escaped at first without Lancelot, but he follows her trace and finds her (p. 32). His men take up the body of the knight slain by Gaheriet and they go to

⁴² Kay and Dodinel do not appear in this connection in any other version.

⁴³ Here begins Chantare III.

Joyous Gard (p. 32). None of these differences, as will be observed, are important.

The narrative following this in CL is much condensed. The Italian leaves out the fine passage (MA, pp. 116 f.) about Gawain's going to the palace, unconscious of the fate that had overtaken his brothers. It merely says (p. 34) that when Gaieriet's body was placed in the hall, Arthur and Gawain lamented over it. The author excuses himself for not repeating the speeches of the king and his men over the corpse. He is, of course, referring here to the long speeches of lamentation which he had before him (MA pp. 115 ff.). The actual lament given is little over one stanza. The inscription on the tomb of the three brothers virtually agrees with the one in MA (p. 120), in laying the blame for their destruction on Lancelot.

The preparations⁴⁴ which precede the siege of Joyous Gard in MA (pp. 121-127) are here (p. 36) compressed into two stanzas, and the passage about filling the vacancies at the Round Table (MA, pp. 125 f.) is entirely ignored. On the king's side, besides Gawain, CL mentions (p. 37) by anticipation Girflet and Lucan. After the manner of the later romances it gives a long list (p. 38) of the knights who came to Lancelot's assistance. The writer's main aim is to bring in as many famous Arthurian names as possible. He mentions the "sir della valle del serpente," Pellenor, the "sir di serloise" (that is, Galahot of Sorloise, Lancelot's friend, who had died in the prose *Lancelot*), "il re chaleondino" (Galegantin?), Dinas (because Blioberis had defended him against King Marc),⁴⁵ Tarsin,⁴⁶ the "sir dell' amitano" and about one hundred knights whom Lancelot had delivered from the enchantments of Morgain la Fee in the "valle de fallaciamanti."⁴⁷ King Pelles and his daughter, the mother of Galahad, had also sent men.

Hector's going forth (p. 39) over the sea to collect men to raise the siege of Joyous Gard is, of course, not in MA and may have been suggested by something in the local conditions under which the

⁴⁴ Here begins Chantare IV.

⁴⁵ This is a mark of late composition; for the reference is to the prose *Tristan*. See Löseth, p. 246.

⁴⁶ This character is also taken from the prose *Tristan*. Cp. Löseth, p. 440.

⁴⁷ This is an allusion to the "ual des faus amans" in the prose *Lancelot*. Cp. Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, IV, 117 ff.

author lived. The narrative of CL shows considerable variation in detail, but, inasmuch as it varies here from all other versions, there is no reason to ascribe any authority to these differences. Apart from the complete omission of the damsel-messenger incident (MA, pp. 128 ff.), CL (pp. 40 f.) makes Bors attack Arthur's camp by night. It is not guarded and the assailants kill some of Arthur's men and carry off spoils. During the siege the Italian poet characteristically declares (p. 41) that Lancelot and the queen gave themselves up to love. Then one day the lovers see Hector return with a fleet and a great host of men, who are received into the castle with rejoicings (p. 42). Next day they attack Arthur, who is prepared, however, for it (p. 43).

Hector's sea-expedition has nothing like it in any other version and is plainly the invention of the Italian poet. Indeed, the same thing is true, for the most part, of the whole description of the siege of Joyous Gard. Prominent here on Lancelot's side in the fight are Blioberis and Dinas⁴⁸ (p. 44), and the king's host, though double the size of that which opposes them, gets the worst of it (p. 45). At the end of the day Lancelot returns to the castle and is received tenderly by the queen. The incident of Lancelot's saving Arthur's life (MA, p. 142) does not appear in CL, and, indeed, the *motif* of his courtesy is not found anywhere in this version.

After a siege of six months or more (as in MA, p. 143) the Pope intervenes and sends a cardinal⁴⁹ to end the discords (p. 46).

The narrative of Lancelot's surrender of Guinevere and his return to his own dominions (p. 47) though extremely condensed, follows substantially the same lines as that in MA. The mutual reproaches on the occasion of the surrender and Lancelot's return to his own country and distribution of fiefs (MA, pp. 149-155) are left out altogether. The⁵⁰ king takes no pleasure in his wife's company, and Gawain, as in MA (p. 155), stirs up Arthur to war against Lancelot (p. 49). It is stated that when Arthur left his kingdom to attack Lancelot, he appointed his nephew to be regent in his absence, but the nephew is not named (p. 50).

In the battle with Lancelot Arthur, Bors, Hector and Ivain are

⁴⁸ This character's prominence is due to the influence of the prose *Tristan*.

⁴⁹ In MA (p. 144) it is the Bishop of Rochester.

⁵⁰ Here begins Chantare V.

the most prominent figures in CL (pp. 52-54) also, but other characters are introduced, the Kings of Ireland, Scotland, etc. In CL (p. 54), differing from all the other versions, the fighting is interrupted by intervals of formal truce.

In the account of Mordred's treason (pp. 55 f.) the forged letter does not purport to come from Arthur but from Ivain. Indeed, it announces the death of the king at the hands of Lancelot. Nothing is said of the queen's message (MA, p. 173) to her husband.

Instead of merely general statements, as in MA (p. 174), CL (p. 57), says definitely that Arthur fought more than twenty battles with Lancelot⁵¹ but that the want of victuals caused him to lose one third of his followers. Then Gawain, despite Arthur's opposition,⁵² challenges Lancelot to a duel. Differing from all other versions, Lancelot in CL makes no attempt to evade the challenge. As remarked above, the author of the Italian poem has throughout completely discarded the conception of courtesy which was the finest trait of the character in MA. Bors, Hector and Lionel (p. 58) want to fight too, but Lancelot won't consent. In direct contradiction to MA (185) CL says that both sides, distrusting each other, went to the scene of the duel armed. The duel follows in the main (pp. 58-61) the same course as in MA (pp. 186 ff.), although the narrative is much compressed. The Italian says of Gawain's increase of strength at midday:

Dond' egli ebe questa degnitade
leggha chi vole e troverallo scritto
nel libro della sua natividade.

In CL (p. 61) Lancelot was about to kill Gawain, when Arthur intercedes for him, and so his life is spared. This conflicts with all the other versions, none of which, save TR, impute cruelty to Lancelot. The king returns the next day to his kingdom, although nothing is said of his having received a message concerning Mordred's treason.

The story of the Roman war (MA, pp. 197-201), is condensed into six stanzas (pp. 62 f.) and of Gawain's burial it is said:

et soppellirolo a un devoto santo.

⁵¹ It will be observed that CL, like MA, and unlike Malory, interweaves the episode of the war against Lancelot with that of Mordred's treason.

⁵² CL says nothing of the vallet's remonstrances (MA, p. 175).

Apparently, in order to account for Mordred's sons, who figure later on in the narrative, CL (p. 64) with amusing *naïveté*, says⁵³ that the traitor, not being able to get hold of Guinevere, married a woman of great beauty and high rank and that by her he had "figliuoli molti piacenti."

In CL (p. 66) besides the Saxons Mordred has in his army men from Ireland and Scotland and others from as far as India. After summoning Arthur to leave the kingdom, as in MA (p. 223), Mordred and his host go to Salisbury plain, and Arthur hearing that he is there, prepares to go there, too (p. 67). CL omits the episode of the lord of Beloe who kills his wife, because of his jealousy of Gawain (MA, pp. 216 f.), but it gives Arthur's vision of Gawain (p. 68). On the other hand, it leaves out his vision of the Wheel of Fortune (MA, p. 220). The leaders of the ten divisions of Arthur's host (pp. 69 f.) are not in all cases the same as in MA (p. 225). Following is the order in which CL gives them: Ivain, Girflet, Lucan, Kay, Carados the King of Ireland, the seventh unnamed ("un caro amico de re artu che 'l nome non vi dicho"), the King of Scotland, "i re vermiglio," Arthur. As in MA (p. 225), Mordred here divides his army into twenty divisions (the Britons apart from their foreign allies, says CL). The Italian remarks (p. 70) that when Mordred's men respond enthusiastically to his exhortations to battle they forget that they are opposed to their own dearest relatives. Later on (p. 72) stress is again laid on this feature of the conflict. Moreover, unlike MA (p. 226) and the other versions, it says that just before the first shock of battle a great wind sprang up and made everything dark with the dust. In the fight Mordred, according to CL (p. 73), killed not only Ivain but Carados. On the other hand, Arthur not only pierced Mordred with a spear but cut his head half through with a sword (p. 74). In the end, however, as in MA (p. 243), only Lucan and Girflet are left alive with him. In Arthur's lament after the battle CL (p. 75) makes him lay the blame for all these calamities on Lancelot.

It will be observed from the above that, apart from abbreviation, CL introduces some minor alterations in the narrative. None of them, however, are significant and none of them are supported by parallels from the other versions.

⁵³ Here begins Chantare VI.

CL (pp. 75 f.) reverses the order of the narrative in regard to the ride to the chapel and Lucan's death there (MA, pp. 245 f.) and the episode of Girflet and the sword (MA, pp. 247 f.). It puts the first incident second. Moreover, the sword is cast into a river (p. 75), not a lake. The chapel too, becomes an abbey (p. 76). Then when the boat approaches to bear Arthur away, CL (p. 77) says nothing of Morgain and the other ladies. It merely declares that this boat was covered with black and that an arm was put forth that took him in.⁵⁴ He was borne away, no one knew where. The writer merely mentions in a line the story (MA, pp. 25 f.) of Arthur's being buried in the chapel. As Girflet in MA (p. 252) turns hermit, so in CL (p. 77) he ends his days as a monk in the abbey. Guinevere becomes an abbess.

Lancelot (p. 79), hearing of the battle,⁵⁵ laments his old companions and decides to go over the sea to protect the queen. With a reminiscence of MA (pp. 154 f.) which it had suppressed before, the Italian poem now mentions the coronation of Lionel (p. 80). On invading Great Britain, Lancelot, Lionel, etc., devastate the land, but learn that Guinevere is dead (p. 80). She had imposed on herself such penances that she died as a consequence (p. 81).⁵⁶ Lancelot prays that the queen may be pardoned in Heaven. His grief is so violent that Bors and Hector fear for his life.

The account of Lancelot's war with Mordred's sons does not vary materially from that in MA (pp. 254 ff.). We even have (pp. 86 ff.) the incident of the vallet who, not knowing Lancelot, tells him of the great battle in which Lionel has fallen by the hand of Mordred's son. In CL (p. 86), however, his avenger is Lancelot, not Bors, and Mordred's son has fled some distance before he is overtaken. Furthermore, in CL Blioberis takes part in the war against Mordred's sons.

Lancelot becomes a hermit, as in MA (pp. 257 ff.). CL does not mention the Archbishop of Canterbury—merely says that Lancelot found at the hermitage an old acquaintance, "un conte di somo valore." Blioberis is not there, as he is in MA. On the contrary,

⁵⁴ This conception has no parallel in the other versions, except TR. It was suggested no doubt by the arm that rose out of the water to receive Excalibur.

⁵⁵ Here begins Chantare VII.

⁵⁶ This and what follows merely amplifies slightly MA, p. 254.

we find him (p. 90) seeking for Lancelot like the rest and coming to the hermitage after his friend's death. Lancelot spends the remainder of his days in the hermitage, as in MA.

Contrary to MA (pp. 259 f.) Bors does not return to his own kingdom after the battle with Mordred's sons. He joins Hector in the quest of Lancelot (p. 89). The two reach Lancelot's hermitage after his death. They convey his body to Joyous Gard and, as in MA (p. 262), bury him by Galahot. The Italian poet was evidently puzzled by the similarity of the names of Galahot (Lancelot's friend) and Galahad (Lancelot's son), and so he remarks:

Eravi quel prezza galeotto
che già al mondo come ciò fu fatto
in questo mio cantare non ne fo motto
se non che m'udirete in alchun atto
che di metallo crebe le figure
eran di sopra alle tre sepolture.
Quella di Galeotto in mezzo stava
et Lancellotto et 'l prezza eran dal lato.

Bors does not remain as a hermit in Lancelot's hermitage, but goes to be crowned king in his own land. We have here the conception of an earlier passage in MA (pp. 259 f.) transferred to the end of the romance. Hector, however, stays with Blioberis in the hermitage (p. 91).

The poem closes (pp. 91 f.) with a warning not to meddle with other men's wives and a prayer to Christ and the Virgin Mary to protect us, particularly the author.

6. The Middle English alliterative *Morte Arthure*

Unlike the versions which we have been discussing so far, this romance which gives substantially the same version of the Mort Arthur theme as Wace is not derived from MA.⁵⁷ Lancelot figures

⁵⁷ The best discussion of the sources of the alliterative poem is that of R. Imelmann: *Layamon: Versuch über seine Quellen*, pp. 50 ff. (Halle, 1906). In *Anglia*, XXXII, 389 ff. (1909), R. H. Griffith has shown, besides, that the author drew on *Fierabras* for the Priamus episode. For other suggested sources see George Neilson, *Huchown of the Awle Ryale*, pp. 40 ff. (Glasgow, 1902). In *The Athenaeum* for Nov. 15, 1902, Neilson has undertaken to identify some of the characters in this poem with actual personages of the fourteenth century.

in it as one of Arthur's knights, but not as Guinevere's lover. On the other hand, having been written in the fourteenth century, it cannot, of course, be a source of MA. Arthur's dream of the Wheel of Fortune, which occurs in both, though with very considerable differences of detail, came to them from a common source—no doubt, the expanded Wace on which Layamon based his poem. As I have pointed out elsewhere,⁵⁸ the correspondences between MA and Layamon are due to the fact that they used a common source, not to the influence—as Imelmann (p. 57) supposes—of MA on Layamon's source. Layamon's poem, we may say, was certainly complete by 1205, so his (lost French) source was earlier than this date—probably very much earlier, since books in those days did not reach distant country-parishes (such as Layamon's) from the centres with any great rapidity. Besides, the period when a work like Layamon's source—that is, a verse-chronicle based on Wace with interpolation of new material—would be likely to be composed had already passed in the centres of literary composition, the full-fledged romance having long supplanted such works in interest.⁵⁹ On the other hand, it cannot be maintained that MA was written before about the end of the twelfth century, at the earliest. It is evident, then, that the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, fine poem though it be, preserves no material of importance for the development of the Mort Arthur theme that is not found elsewhere.

⁵⁸ *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI, 68 f. (1911). Imelmann, himself (p. 57 f.) points out a significant detail of Arthur's dream which could not have come from MA (or the *Lancelot*, as he calls it). He does not quote me quite correctly, however, when he says that I regard as the common source of Malory's last books and the Harleian *Morte Arthur*, ll. 1672 ff., the Vulgate *Lancelot* (*Mort Artu*) or its source. It is really a modification of the Vulgate *Lancelot* that I endeavored (*loc. cit.*) to show was their common source. Worthy of note, too, is that the passage concerning heathen gods which Imelmann (p. 59), following Madden's edition of Layamon, III, 353, cites from the "*Lancelot*" is really from the *Estoire del Saint-Graal*—a work whose sources even were no doubt unknown to Layamon and his source.

⁵⁹ The conclusion, of course, is not inevitable, but we have here new material—not merely old material worked over—which points rather to the period when the metrical chronicles were most vigorous—that is, the earlier period.

7. The *Didot-Perceval*⁶⁰

The version of the Mort Arthur theme which is contained in the *Didot-Perceval* is not based on MA.⁶¹ On the other hand, MA owes nothing to the *Didot-Perceval*.

It is not necessary for me to enter into the vexed question of the date of this latter romance,⁶² for, despite Miss Weston's contention (*Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 317 ff.) the brief Mort Arthur section with which it concludes (pp. 84-112 of Miss Weston's edition), whether early or late, has no importance whatever for the development of the Mort Arthur theme. Even if we allow that it is early, there is not a single point in which the *Didot-Perceval* can be maintained to have influenced MA or any of the versions which I have been collating with that romance in the preceding pages. For what does it consist of? For the most part (twenty-four out of the twenty-eight pages), merely of an ordinary chronicle account of

⁶⁰ This distinctive title has been too long in use to be displaced without inconvenience by that which Miss Weston proposes—"the prose *Perceval*."

⁶¹ For the proof see W. Hoffmann, *Die Quellen des Didot-Perceval*, pp. 72 ff. (Halle, 1905). In my *Mort Artu*, p. 267, I assumed that the Blanc Chastel episode in the *Didot-Perceval* was influenced by MA. Miss Weston (see next note) denies this. She is doubtless right.

⁶² The Second Volume (1909) of Miss Weston's *Legend of Sir Perceval* is, of course, based on the supposition that it is early. But Ferdinand Lot, for example, in his review of her book, speaks of it (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. 70, p. 566) as "ce texte d'assez basse époque (vers 1220?)." In my edition of the *Mort Artu* I assumed that it was later than that romance and that the Blanc Chastel episode showed the influence of the episode in the latter of the Maid of Ascalot. As just said, Miss Weston has pointed out (*Romania*, vol. 40, p. 135) that I exaggerated the similarity of the incidents. But how does this exaggeration introduce any "confusion" into my "treatment of the interrelation subsisting between the different branches of the cycle, and the allied romances?" The view which my note implied, that the *Didot-Perceval* was a late composition, is still held by Ferdinand Lot (see the passage just cited) and others (to say nothing of myself), even since the publication of Miss Weston's *Sir Perceval*. But how is this inconsistent with anything else in this note and the following, which suggest as sources for the passage in MA, Chrétien's *Lancelot* and *Perceval* and the prose *Lancelot* and *Queste*—all works which I maintain are earlier than MA? On the score of method, one might object to the assumption of so many different sources, but there is no inconsistency. As far as Miss Weston's reconstruction of the *Didot-Perceval* from a lost verse-chronicle is concerned, not a single Arthurian specialist has in any publication accepted it. The question of whether the Mort Arthur section belonged to the *Didot-Perceval* from the beginning is likewise indifferent to our present inquiry.

Arthur's wars with the French and the Romans, which conveyed no new information to any one, since it differs so slightly from Wace as to be virtually indistinguishable from his *Brut*. Indeed, as far as I know, nobody—not even Miss Weston—has ever asserted that MA drew any detail of its narrative of the Roman war from the *Didot-Perceval*. Then follows the account of Mordred's treason—again, as in the chronicles, only that the final battle between Arthur and the traitor is arbitrarily transferred from Great Britain to an island (apparently, off the coast of Ireland) which is ruled over by a Saxon ally of Mordred's. Mordred here is Arthur's nephew, not his son (as in MA), and he actually marries Guinevere. Lancelot does not appear in the narrative at all. That is to say, I repeat: we have an ordinary chronicle account—one, too, which is nothing like so near to MA as that which we find in Layamon.⁶³ In some details the *Didot-Perceval* is nearer to Layamon than to Wace, but the divergences from the printed text (ed. Le Roux de Lincy, 2 vols., Rouen, 1838) of the latter are, after all, so minute that they may well rest solely on differences in the MSS. of Wace's poem.⁶⁴ On the other hand, as we shall see, in regard to the incidents with which

⁶³ This will appear in the discussion (below) of the relations of MA to Layamon.

⁶⁴ This is the position of Ferdinand Lot in his review of the Second Volume of Miss Weston's *Legend of Sir Perceval* in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. 70 (1909). See p. 568. After what he has said there, pp. 567 f., it is not necessary for me to dwell any further on the slightness of these divergences. A critical edition of Wace in its original form might very well give us the explanation even of what Miss Weston (p. 324) characterizes as "the most notable divergence" between Wace and the *Didot-Perceval*—namely, in the account of Gawain's death, where as against the simple statement in the printed Wace that in the battle with Mordred Gawain was killed, the *Didot-Perceval* adds the detail that he was killed by a Saxon, and then gives a lament, in both of which respects it agrees with Layamon. For my own part, I confess that I do not see why the *Didot-Perceval* and Layamon might not have developed these details independently out of Wace, for already in that writer the Saxons were Mordred's allies and the hint for lamentation was given in the line 13505, "Artus ot de lui dolor grant." If M. Lot wishes to deny that there was an expansion of Wace's chronicle (which may or may not have been due to a certain Martin of Rochester), he is unquestionably wrong. Cp. R. Imelmann's *Layamon: Versuch über seine Quellen* (Berlin, 1906) and my article in *Modern Language Notes* for March, 1911. On the other hand, I do not think that Miss Weston has proved that the *Didot-Perceval* must have drawn from this expanded version.

we are here concerned, MA is a re-shaping evidently not of the *Didot-Perceval*, but of the lost French source of Layamon.⁶⁵

The only possible influence, then, which the *Didot-Perceval* might have exercised over MA would have been in the general suggestion of adding a Mort Arthur to a Quest of the Holy Grail. But apart from the very doubtful view implied in this that the *Didot-Perceval* is earlier than MA,⁶⁶ the latter, as has been observed, does not include a single incident that can be set down to the influence of the former, either in the Quest section or the Mort Arthur section, so there is no sign whatever that the author of MA

⁶⁵ In all the points where MA and Layamon agree, as enumerated in Section II, below, they differ from the *Didot-Perceval*. To be sure, MA agrees with the *Didot-Perceval* that Arthur killed the emperor, whereas in Layamon his slayer is unknown. So natural a coincidence, however, can have no weight.

⁶⁶ Whilst I am on this subject, I wish to record my emphatic disagreement with Miss Weston, as regards her *a priori* reasoning (p. 340) that Perceval could not be made again the hero of the Grail-Quest, after the character of Galahad had been once created. This accords with the assumption that runs all through her work that the Arthurian stories (I will not say "legend," for that implies oral tradition), as they developed, possessed in the minds of contemporaries something like the sacredness of a great religious tradition. As a matter of fact, the romances were the work of men who were writing for the entertainment of patrons, just as modern novelists do for the entertainment of the public. The only difference is that their authors, living in the Middle Ages, had no sense of literary property and so did not hesitate to convert earlier treatments of these themes to any use they chose. The fact that the originator of the Galahad-Quest felt no compunctions about substituting his hero for Perceval, itself shows how lightly tradition sat on the romancers. But there are other instances. For example, if one might have regarded anything as fixed in Arthurian tradition, it would have been Guinevere's connection with the ruin of Arthur and his knights and her entry into a convent; but the *Perlesvaus* changes all this and makes Guinevere die from grief for her son, Lohot, long before there can be any question of the end of the Round Table. Note, too, the Middle English alliterative *Morte Arthure*, discussed above, which was composed in the fourteenth century. Lancelot figures in this poem among Arthur's knights and the author must have known of his love-affair with Guinevere, which, besides being the *raison d'être* of the character, had become through Chrétien's poem, and still more, the prose *Lancelot*, one of the commonplaces of mediaeval literature, yet he deliberately prefers to follow the old tradition of the verse-chronicles, and does not include the above-mentioned love affair in his scheme any more than the author of the *Didot-Perceval* did. In all periods of literature it is such a common phenomenon for older traditions to continue by the side of newer ones that have arisen, that one cannot but be surprised at Miss Weston's position in this matter, which she still maintains in her review of my *Mort Artu*. See *Romania*, XL, 136.

knew of the existence of the *Didot-Perceval*, even if it was earlier. That MA was influenced by the latter even in the general way suggested above is consequently a purely gratuitous assumption. One has a right to be skeptical about the general influence, as long as no single example of specific influence has been pointed out.

II.—THE VERSE-CHRONICLE SOURCE OF THE VULGATE *Mort Artu*

The *Didot-Perceval* (in its Mort Arthur section) and the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, then, are each derived from a verse-chronicle. In the case of the former, as we have seen, the differences, when compared with Wace's *Brut*, even in Le Roux de Lincy's edition, are so slight that it is questionable whether a critical edition of that poem would not show that the writer has based his work on the unexpanded Wace. The latter drew, it would seem, from an expanded Wace, but, quite likely, not in the form that is used by Layamon. But how about MA? In *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI (1911), pp. 68 f. (including note 20) I have pointed out certain correspondences between MA and Layamon as against the printed Wace which must rest on a common source—an expanded Wace such as Imelmann has argued for. As regards the name of Mordred's son—*Meleon* in Layamon, *Melehan* in MA—a critical edition of Wace might possibly show that this was in the original form of the French poem, but the same thing cannot be maintained of the passages (1) where Arthur learns from a messenger of Mordred's treason and sees in this intelligence the realization of a prophetic dream⁶⁷ (cp. MA, p. 202 and Layamon in Madden's edition, III, 117 ff.), (2) where at the end of the final battle with Mordred, besides Arthur, only two of his knights are said to be left alive (MA, p. 244 and Layamon, III, 143), (3) where he is translated to Avalon by Morgain and the fairy ladies (MA, pp. 250 f. and Layamon, III, 144). Since my discussion of the third of these passages,⁶⁸ no one, I believe, can doubt that Layamon was here following an expanded Wace. The whole evidence goes to show that the author of MA, likewise, was drawing on just such an ex-

⁶⁷ I have also noted, *loc. cit.* and *Mort Artu*, p. 291, the differences between the two versions. I did not note in this connection there the last two of the three points here cited.

⁶⁸ In the same article, pp. 65 ff., and in *THE ROMANIC REVIEW*, III, 190 f. (1912).

panded version of that writer's *Brut*. I believe, indeed, that he had before him substantially the same version as that which Layamon used. The only objection is that MA (p. 220) contains the vision of the Wheel of Fortune and Layamon does not—yet the evidence of the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, where this vision also occurs, goes to show that the incident is not an invention of MA's, but must have been in the original verse-chronicle source. If Layamon's manuscript had contained this treatment of a theme so beloved in the Middle Ages, it is not probable that he would have omitted it. In view, however, of the otherwise close correspondence of MA and Layamon, the natural conclusion seems to be that this episode of the vision of the Wheel of Fortune was either a later interpolation in the expanded Wace, having been suggested by the earlier prophetic dream of Arthur (Layamon, III, 117 ff.), or that it was omitted in the particular manuscript of the expanded Wace that Layamon was following. In the above-mentioned article of *Modern Language Notes*, p. 69, note 24, I have pointed out that this manuscript was in another important passage almost certainly defective, so the same may have been the case here.⁶⁹

Assuming then, as I believe that we may safely do, that the verse-chronicle source of MA was the same as that which Layamon had before him, at what point does the author of this romance (MA) begin to draw on it and in what manner does he use it? In regard to the first of these questions, I should say that the verse-chronicle only begins to be a source of MA after the siege of Joyous Gard is ended and Lancelot, having surrendered Guinevere to her consort, returns to his own land (pp. 152 ff. of my edition). Up to this point the prose *Lancelot* and the *Tristan* poems have furnished the authors with the main suggestions from which he has developed his narrative. From here on the framework is given by his verse-chronicle source—only Lancelot, as Guinevere's lover, usurps the

⁶⁹ The possibility, of course, suggests itself that the author of the alliterative poem may have derived this dream directly or indirectly from MA. As remarked above, living in the fourteenth century and knowing of Lancelot, he must have known also of the famous love story of this character and Guinevere. But he shows nowhere else any knowledge of MA, and, on the other hand, he certainly based his poem on a verse-chronicle, so that the inference which I have drawn in the text seems the proper one. Layamon's so-called expansions are, doubtless, all due to his French original. See my remarks on the subject, *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI, pp. 69 f., note 24 (March, 1911).

rôle of Mordred. Furthermore, he fills the place of Frolo before Arthur's death⁷⁰ and of Constantine after his death. This double rôle suits the conception of Lancelot which runs all through MA. Having wronged Arthur through his guilty passion for Guinevere, he becomes (against his will) the king's enemy. On the other hand, he has never faltered in his personal loyalty, and so, being the greatest of Arthur's knights, he is the proper avenger of his sovereign. In the verse-chronicle source, after overcoming Frolo, Arthur, no doubt, returned from the continent to his own kingdom before undertaking the second expedition—namely, that against the Romans. MA, which was concerned with Arthur's tragedy and not his regal splendor (as the chronicles were), omits this episode of the return and combines the two wars, so that Arthur is on the continent the whole time. It shows the writer's judgment that he does not make the king return to Great Britain until the final struggle with Mordred. The narrative would have gained still further in concentration, if he had omitted altogether the Roman war, but the spell of a written source (as so often in Shakespeare's historical plays) and the insatiable appetite of the Middle Ages for fighting unfortunately influenced him to retain this episode.⁷¹ One of the finest things in MA—Gawain's implacable pursuit of his old companion-in-arms, Lancelot—is, of course, the invention of the author of that romance. It is a mark of the writer's tragic power that he should have made the unwilling Lancelot primarily responsible for Gawain's death (cp. p. 196); for the blow received in the Roman war (p. 200) was on the old wound. The long narrative of the duel between the two characters,⁷² of Gawain's burial⁷³ and

⁷⁰ In the note to the *Mort Artu*, pp. 286 f., I remarked that Arthur's expedition to the continent to wage war on Lancelot was no doubt suggested by the similar expedition against the Roman Emperor. (To have been quite accurate, I should have included the expedition against Frolo.) Unfortunately in the summary in my Introduction, p. XXXV, I forgot to mention this.

⁷¹ This episode, which represented Arthur as victorious over even the conquerors of the world, no doubt flattered particularly the imagination of nobles to whom Great Britain had become the chief center of interest.

⁷² Some features of this duel, such as the strange fluctuation of Gawain's strength in accordance with the height of the sun, are, of course, taken from outside tradition. See my note to the *Mort Artu*, pp. 287 f.

⁷³ Layamon (III, 132) merely says that Gawain was slain by a Saxon earl in the first battle with Mordred. He tells nothing of his burial. Wace, ll. 13554 ff., says: "Le cors fist [i. e., Arthur] metre ne sai u Ainc hom ne sot u il fu mis Ne qui l'ocist ce m'est avis."

of the jealous lord of Beloe, who kills his wife because of her excessive grief over Gawain's dead body—none of these things were in the verse-chronicle source. The same thing is true of the details of the final battle with Mordred (pp. 225 ff.). The author has here given the reins to his own invention. I have pointed out elsewhere⁷⁴ how he has reduced the three battles of his source into one, and placed it on Salisbury plains. Among the incidents that follow the battle, that of Girflet and the sword, though hardly his own invention, is not likely to have been in the verse-chronicle source.⁷⁵ After this we have the popular tradition concerning Arthur's translation to Avalon, which the writer found in his source awkwardly combined with the Glastonbury story that the great king was buried there.⁷⁶ Then comes the war with Mordred's sons, in which, as has already been observed, Lancelot is substituted for Constantine. Here the influence of the verse-chronicle ends.

From the above it will be seen that considerable allowance has to be made for invention on the part of the author of MA. There is nothing surprising, however, in this; for a comparison of the the earlier portion of this romance (down to pp. 152 ff.) with the romances which suggested indisputably the main framework of the narrative—viz., the *Tristan* poems and the prose *Lancelot*—reveals the same thing—only here the writer works with an even freer hand. In some parts, as in the story of how Agravain and his brothers try to entrap Lancelot with Guinevere (pp. 93 ff.), where

⁷⁴ *Mort Artu*, pp. 291 ff.

⁷⁵ I say this, because it is not in Layamon. At the time that I wrote the above-cited article in *Modern Language Notes* (see note 20) I was inclined to the opposite opinion. Still further on this incident see my note to the *Mort Artu*, pp. 297 f.

⁷⁶ W. W. Newell argues, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XVIII, 459 ff. (1903), that the connection of Arthur with Glastonbury dates from the affair of the pretended exhumation of his and Guinevere's bones there in the year, 1191. His argument is a strong one and I am myself convinced that the notion that Arthur was buried in that place originated with this affair. If the view here expressed is correct, we should have 1191 as the upward limit for the composition of MA. To be sure, this would involve no great gain, since, as far as I have observed, no one has ever put the romance so far back. Similar early localizations (though with no fraudulent intent) from the *Tristan* poems in Dublin and its vicinity (from the twelfth century even) are noted in letters to *The Athenaeum* for February 21 and April 26, 1913. Cp. too issues for May 10 and 17, 1913. The writers naively cite these localizations as proofs of the actual existence of the characters concerned.

he is imitating the *Tristan* poems, or again in the episode of the Pope's interference in Arthur's domestic affairs (pp. 144 f.), where he is borrowing from the prose *Lancelot*, he follows in the main the outlines of his sources, although giving them a different setting and modifying them in certain particulars to suit his purpose. The same thing is true of the poisoned fruit episode, if we may judge by the parallel episodes in *Gaydon* and *Parise la Duchesse*. On the other hand, the combination of old elements (Iseult of Brittany and Perceval's sister) in the episode of the Maid of Ascalot amounts to a new creation, and we have somewhat similar conditions in the case of the episode where Arthur sees the pictures of Lancelot's intrigue with the queen at Morgain's palace. The flight to Joyous Gard and the vicissitudes of the siege are purely invented, and so is the whole train of incident earlier in the romance which follows on the tournament at Winchester.⁷⁷ The highest inventive skill, however, of the writer is displayed in the manner in which he has combined these various materials for the construction of his romance and given the whole a shape which renders his work one of the most notable productions of the Middle Ages.

There is not the slightest reason then for doubting that the author of MA was working on a verse-chronicle that was, to all intents and purposes, identical with Layamon's French original. But if this is so, what becomes of that long process of evolution, with its various hypothetical stages, which Miss Weston has assumed for the Mort Arthur theme? If she had tried to form a definite idea of each of these stages, she would have soon seen that this vague hypothesis was baseless. Let us examine in detail what she says on the subject (*Romania*, XL, 134 f.).

First, she remarks: "Beginning with the comparatively brief account given by Geoffrey of Arthur's wars with the Romans and death at the hand of Mordred, the story developed in the hands of the metrical chroniclers into what was practically a full-fledged pseudo-historic romance, and, as such, was utilized by Borron in his cycle."

I pass over the inexact statement that Geoffrey makes Arthur perish "at the hand of" Mordred⁷⁸ and the still unproved assump-

⁷⁷ I have commented on all these various matters in my notes to the *Mort Artu*.

⁷⁸ Geoffrey (Book XI, ch. 2) does not say by whose hand Arthur fell.

tion that the *Didot-Perceval* is based on a lost poem of Robert de Boron's.⁷⁹ What I wish to lay stress on is that here, at the very start, the evil of indefinite language shows itself. Why does Miss Weston leave the matter in the vague with such an expression as "the metrical chroniclers"? As a matter of fact, there were only two—Wace and the person who expanded Wace's poem. One might imagine from Miss Weston's language that already there had been a number of such chroniclers, each one adding something that led up to the "full-fledged pseudo-historic romance." Still further, the above-quoted sentences imply an exaggerated estimate of the difference between Wace in its original and in its expanded form. The expansion of this writer's chronicle represented by Layamon does mark undeniably a step further in the direction of pure romance, but, after all, it remains a chronicle, though interpolated with romantic material.

Miss Weston proceeds: "Gradually it [i. e., her 'full-fledged, pseudo-historic romance,' which, if it means anything, must mean an expanded Wace] became divested of the historic elements, the demand for tribute and war with the Romans, being transferred to the *Merlin*,⁸⁰ and the conquest of Gaul, and fight with Frolo, to the *Lancelot*,⁸¹ receiving in their stead as central 'motif' the guilty love of Lancelot and the Queen, and Arthur's wars with his faithless knight. No study would, at the present moment, be of more general value for critical purposes than one which followed and elucidated the various phases of the M[ort] A[rthur] in its transition from historic tradition to literary romance."

The very first word of the paragraph just quoted—"gradually"—arrests one's attention. The word implies that the expanded

⁷⁹ As I remarked above, the verse-chronicle on which the Mort Arthur section of the *Didot-Perceval* is based was probably merely Wace (of whom we have yet no critical edition), or, if it was not in every respect identical with Wace, it differed so little from his poem that it does not deserve the title of a separate work. Even Layamon's original, after all, was in the main identical with Wace.

⁸⁰ The war with the Romans will be found in H. O. Sommer's edition of that romance, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, II, 424 ff.

⁸¹ It appears from Miss Weston's *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, p. 4, that she is referring to the part of the prose *Lancelot* which relates "the war against Claudas to recover Lancelot's patrimony." This, I presume, is the passage in the last division of the *Lancelot* (Sommer, V, 370 ff.). What I have said in the text, however, shows that the matter has no importance.

Wace, itself, passed through a number of redactions, which showed successively a diminution of the historic elements, etc. But where are there any such redactions? and where is there any evidence that such redactions ever existed? If Miss Weston will pardon me for saying so, in the condition in which she has left it, her theory is no better than any other figment of the imagination. And, still further, what does she mean, when she speaks of "the demand for tribute and war with the Romans being transferred to the *Merlin* and the conquest of Gaul and fight with Frolo, to the *Lancelot*," this expanded Wace "receiving in their stead as central 'motif' the guilty love of Lancelot and the Queen and Arthur's wars with his faithless knight?" The only versions in existence that show this guilty love as the central *motif* are MA and its derivatives. There is accordingly no reason to doubt that the author of MA was the first to connect this conception with the story of the end of the Round Table. There is not a trace of it in any extant verse-chronicle or in any prose version based on a verse-chronicle, such as we have in the *Didot-Perceval*. But MA is not "divested of the historic elements" here spoken of. It has, of course, the Roman war (pp. 197 ff.), and, as I have just shown, it has the war with Frolo disguised—that is, with Lancelot substituted for that character. For the rest, the *Merlin*, or, strictly speaking, *Merlin*-continuation, which contains also an account of this war, is generally recognized as the latest portion of the Vulgate cycle,⁸² so that its introduction into that romance might very well be due to imitation of MA.

In view of what I have said in this and the preceding sections, there is obviously no reason to speak with Miss Weston⁸³ of the "compiler" of MA. One might as well call Shakespeare the "compiler" of *King Lear*, because he used as his sources Holinshed, Sidney's *Arcadia* and, in some points, the older play on the same theme.

In concluding this division of my article I will say that the literary quality of MA furnishes of itself as powerful an argument as one could desire against the theory that this romance is a

⁸² Cp. Brugger (whose views in so many respects coincide with Miss Weston's), *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXIX, 138 (stemma of the prose romances).

⁸³ *Romania*, XL, 137.

"compilation" or that it came into existence through successive accretions to a nucleus.⁸⁴ Regarded from this point of view it outweighs all the rest of the cycle put together. Apart from the interest of the romantic elements in its narrative which is sufficiently attested by the universal fame that they have attained, this is the only one of the cycle that exhibits a genuine dramatic power in depicting the play of contending character and passion. Its constructive skill, too, is extraordinary, for the successive episodes of the Maid of Ascalot and the poisoned fruit lead up to a climax of passion between the guilty lovers with an art that is unparalleled in the other mediaeval romances. This is only one of the many marks, however, of a genius of exceptional order that this romance bears. E. Freymond has recently pronounced it with justice one of the most important prose-works of Old French literature.⁸⁵ Brugger too has spoken of its beauties and its "erhabene Tragik"⁸⁶ but I confess that I do not see how he reconciles this estimate with his theory of its origin.

III.—THE RELATIVE DATE OF THE *Queste* AND *Mort Artu*

Postponing to the next section of this article the consideration of theories as to the origin of the prose-romances which would require us to disregard the manuscript tradition, let us take the two romances, named above, as we have them in the MSS., and examine the question of their relative date.

In all of our MSS. and early prints, of course, we find MA at the beginning connected directly with the *Queste* (which comes just before it in these MSS.): (1) through the passage concerning Gawain's slaying of Baudemagus and the Quest-knights and (2) through the allusion that follows immediately after to the confession which Lancelot made to the hermit in the *Queste*. In accordance with her theory as to the development of the prose-romances which makes the *Mort Artu* earlier in its origin than the *Queste*, in her *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*⁸⁷ and elsewhere Miss Weston

⁸⁴ This is a feature of Brugger's theory, see *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXIX, 91 ff.

⁸⁵ In his review of my *Mort Artu* in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for May 3, 1913.

⁸⁶ *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXIX, 95 (1905).

⁸⁷ Pp. 137 (note), 145, 184, and *Folk-Lore*, XX, 497 f.

proposed to transfer to the *Queste* the first of these passages, despite the manuscript tradition. I have proved in the *Romanic Review*, III, 173 ff. (1912) that the reasons which she advanced for this transference were not valid, so it is not necessary for me to go over the ground again. Miss Weston, among other things, overlooked the second of the passages, which, if retained, would show just as clearly as the first that the *Mort Artu* was subsequent to the *Queste*. On the other hand, Dr. Sommer evidently observed that the second passage was as important as the first in its bearing on the relations of the two romances, so in his recent edition of MA⁸⁸ he tries to get this out of the way, too. The *Grail-Queste*, he asserts, ends just before the words, "Ceste parole dist li rois Artus," etc. (p. 3, line 2 of my text)—that is to say, it ends *here* and not where every manuscript and early print in existence makes it end—and MA properly begins with the words⁸⁹ concerning the renewal of Lancelot's mad passion for the queen: "Et sil auoit maintenu deuant cel pechiet etc." (p. 3, line 16 of my text). The lines that lie between, he says, "form the connecting link between the grail-quest and what follows" (*i. e.*, were inserted by an editor of the cycle). Now such arbitrary cutting up of the uniform manuscript tradition as this, to suit one's own theories, is, in my opinion, unworthy of serious discussion. And, after all, what should we have, if we accepted these violent alterations? A most improbable ending for the *Queste* and a preposterous beginning for MA. Imagine a romance starting off: "And if he had before carried on this sin so discreetly and covertly that no one perceived it, he carried it on afterwards so madly that Agravain . . . observed it," etc. And even if we supposed (which is the only other possibility) that this was intended to form an absolutely continuous narrative with the *Queste*, as Dr. Sommer would have it end (a supposition that contradicts all manuscript tradition, the universal principle of division into branches which we find in the prose-romances and the virtual certainty that MA and the *Queste* are by different authors), the joints would not fit in the slightest degree: the beginning of Dr. Sommer's MA would have no connection with

⁸⁸ *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, VI, 204, note 10.

⁸⁹ The MSS. followed by Dr. Sommer and myself, respectively, differ slightly in their wording.

the end of his *Queste*. Let us dismiss all these absurdities, I say, and stand by the manuscript tradition, which, as I have shown in my discussion of Miss Weston's more rational proposal, offers no difficulty whatever.⁹⁰

The above are not the only passages in our MSS. of MA where we have direct allusion to the *Queste*. Cp. the list of instances given in the Introduction (p. xxxiv, note 4) to my edition of the *Mort Artu*. But it has been asserted⁹¹ that these allusions are interpolations. Now, there are unquestionably anticipatory references⁹² in the *Lancelot* (the earliest romance of the cycle) to other romances of the series that were composed later, and such references must clearly be later insertions of the scribes or editors. There is a possibility then that we have in these references in MA interpolations of the same nature. But who can affirm with any certainty that they are? The references here accord with the indications afforded by the opening paragraphs of MA which we have been considering and by its conclusion (the retirement of the knights to a hermitage being suggested by the end of the *Queste*)

⁹⁰ The arbitrary changes which Dr. Sommer proposes here remind one of the equally arbitrary changes which he once proposed in the Harleian *Morte Arthur*. In that case a comparison with any MS. or early print of the Vulgate *Mort Artu* would have shown him that he was wrong. See my discussion of the matter, *Anglia*, XXIII, 81 ff. (1900).

⁹¹ By Dr. Sommer in the note just cited.

⁹² The references to MA in the *Lancelot* are merely brief cross-references. On the other hand, in MA we have not only allusions to the *Lancelot* but wholesale imitation of it. So the cases are not similar, as Brugger's words (*Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXXVI, 205) might imply. I may say somewhat the same thing in regard to the relation of the *Queste* and *Agravain*. When I wrote the Introduction to my edition of the *Mort Artu*, I assumed that the *Agravain* was by the author of MA and later than the *Queste*, so I was not inconsistent (cp. Brugger, *ibid.*, 206). Since then I have read the *Agravain* in Sommer's edition. I believe it now to be a composite work of which a large part at any rate is later than the *Queste*.

I take occasion to say here that I agree with Sommer in his opinion "that, leaving aside all mere differences of phraseology, the Vulgate-Quest has practically come down to us in the form in which it was originally cast" (*Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, VI, p. 3, note 1). When I expressed a different opinion in my edition of the *Mort Artu*, p. xii, note 1, I had in mind Heinzel's discussion of these matters, pp. 168 f. of his treatise on the Grail romances, but as I have endeavored to show in the next section of this article, the facts in question are capable of a different interpretation. I cannot agree with Dr. Sommer, however, when in the same note he adds to the words just quoted "an assertion that cannot be made of any other branch of the cycle."

to the effect that MA was subsequent to the *Queste*, and they accord with the clear indications of the Maid of Ascalot episode. If there is any indisputable case of borrowing in the entire range of Arthurian romance, surely we have it in the description of how the body of the Maid with a letter in its hand drifted down to Camelot. As I pointed out in my edition of MA (pp. 279 ff.), this is plainly an imitation of the corresponding passage of the *Queste* concerning Perceval's sister. Now, in this case we are not dealing with comparatively brief references, but with a full and beautiful narrative, so that the convenient theory of interpolation is not here applicable.

The passage from the Maid of Ascalot episode then points clearly to the conclusion that MA was written after the *Queste*.⁹³ Is there anything in the *Queste* that conflicts with that conclusion? Nothing at all, I maintain. As against the use of the *Queste* made in MA, there is not even a single allusion to MA in the whole of the *Queste*—not even one of the anticipatory kind which were occasionally inserted by *assembleurs* or scribes elsewhere in the cycle. This romance, indeed, gives us no reason to suppose that the downfall of the Round Table had been connected with the love-affair of Lancelot and Guinevere at the time that it was written. The confession of Lancelot to the hermit afforded the best opportunity possible for some allusion to the tragical conse-

⁹³ I have not considered it necessary to discuss in the body of the article the hypothesis that MA originally began with what in our existing text of the romance is Agravain's second attempt to incite Arthur against Lancelot and Guinevere (p. 92 of my edition). Only Wechsler, I believe, has assumed this. See his *Über die verschiedenen Redaktionen des Robert von Borron zugeschriebenen Graal-Lancelot Cyklus*, p. 36 (Halle, 1895). He is influenced, I suppose, by the fact that the Mort Arthur section of the Portuguese (Spanish) *Demanda* begins here and that Malory breaks the narrative of MA at this point by the interpolation of Book XIX. The *Demanda*, however, belongs to a redaction of the Robert de Boron cycle, which amputates in a most ruthless manner in order to establish an artificial equality between the different members of a trilogy. It has, therefore, no authority. On the other hand, whatever were Malory's motives for his division, he gives, after all, the whole narrative of MA (in a modified version). Imitations and allusions in the prose *Tristan* show that at the time that romance was composed (about 1220) MA had the same form as in our MSS. See Löseth, pp. 24 (probably Winchester tournament), 40 ff. (Lancelot entrapped with Guinevere), 59 (final battle at Salisbury), 91 (probably Morgain episode), 108 (probably Winchester tournament), 136 (Arthur's stay at Morgain's palace).

quences which the sin of the lovers was to entail—an opportunity which the author of the *Queste* with his craze for sermonizing would surely have availed himself of—but there is no such allusion. In my judgment the reason is plain: that conception is the invention of the author of MA, and MA was not yet written.

IV.—THEORIES CONCERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROSE CYCLES

According to the theory which Brugger has elaborated, the Vulgate cycle of the prose-romances, as we have it in our MSS. of the late thirteenth century, is the result of a long process of evolution, the existing cycle developing out of successive series of antecedent cycles.⁹⁴ According to this theory a Mort Arthur branch was inserted at an early stage in the development of these supposed cycles, at a time when a Perceval-*Queste* held the place which in the existing Vulgate cycle, is held by the Galahad-*Queste*. As far as the Mort Arthur is concerned, it is very difficult to discuss Brugger's theory, for he does not give us any definite idea as to the form which he supposes this branch to have had in the various hypothetical stages of development which he postulates. The very complexity of Brugger's scheme arouses skepticism; for all these antecedent cycles, it is to be remembered, are purely hypothetical, and the theory requires us at its start to accept as a fact something that cannot possibly be proved—namely, that Robert de Boron really wrote a Perceval romance. It goes on still further to other unproved assumptions—namely, that the *Didot-Perceval* is the prose rendering of Robert's lost Perceval romance and earlier than the Galahad-*Queste* and MA.

Again, it postulates a *Perlesvaus* that is different from that which we actually possess; for in the extant *Perlesvaus* Guinevere dies from grief for her son long before the end of Arthurian story, so the romance could not possibly have been combined with the only kind of *Mort Arthur* we know—viz. that in which she is the most potent cause of the destruction of the Round Table. And,

⁹⁴ See the stemma, just referred to, in the *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXIX, 138 (1905), and the summary, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 206 f. (1910). Miss Weston's views coincide with Brugger's in the most important respects. See the latter's note in the journal just cited, XXX, 169 (1906).

apart from these matters, the theory necessitates the supposition that the composition of these huge cycles was the result of collaborative effort.⁹⁵ But the cooperative composition of fiction on this scale has no parallel in literary history, and I, for my part, contend that such an improbable supposition is wholly unnecessary.

These romances are cyclic, of course, but they came into existence, I maintain, like all other cyclic works—for example, like the Greek cyclic poems concerning the siege of Troy or the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange among the *chansons de geste*—without the concerted action of the authors. The only differences are (1) that the interval that separated the composition of the various branches was not so long, (2) that the writers of the later branches were not dependent on recitation as doubtless even the poets of the *chansons de geste* often were—they always had the earlier branches before them in written form, (3) that finally *assembleurs* brought the various branches together in huge MSS. and edited them after a fashion, connecting them with one another by cross-references—inserting especially Grail-references here and there, so as to make the Holy Grail appear the center of interest throughout.⁹⁶ Even Brug-

⁹⁵ At least beginning with what he calls the "(O-) Galaad-Gracyklus." For, as compared with the *Josephe*, the *Grand St. Graal* is virtually a new romance, and the hypothetical *Mort Arthur* of this stage of development must have been even fuller as compared with the earlier *Mort Arthur* (of Brugger's theory), represented by the last section of the *Didot-Perceval*. The *Lancelot*, too, I suppose, is imagined as fuller. I will remark in passing that a brief romance like the *Merlin* (before it was continued) would have cut a singular figure in the midst of these long romances. An examination of the grouping of the prose romances in the extant MSS. might naturally be expected to throw some light on the development of the cycles, but the only fairly systematic effort of this kind that has been made seems to me a failure. I refer to that of Gröber in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 997 f.

⁹⁶ It will be objected, of course, that we have a more essential difference in the fact that the earliest treatment of the themes of the Arthurian prose romances appears at the very beginning in the form of a cycle—Robert de Boron's poems. No one will deny that the fact that in the Vulgate cycle an *Estoire del Saint Graal* is followed by a *Merlin* is due to the example of Robert de Boron; but apart from the complete uncertainty that exists as to whether he really wrote a *Perceval*, this correspondence would not render necessary the assumption that we had between that writer's poems and the Vulgate cycle the continuous chain of hypothetical redactions of Brugger's scheme. The Greek tragedians cast their treatments of the stories of Agamemnon, Oedipus, etc., in the form of trilogies, but Seneca (and doubtless others before him) felt under no constraint to do the same thing in dealing with these themes. He has an *Agamemno*, for example,

ger acknowledges that the *Lancelot* was an independent (i. e., not cooperative) work and I see no reason for doubting that the same was true of the *Queste*, whether in the earliest prose-romance on the subject Perceval or Galahad was the Grail-hero. This was Richard Heinzel's view, as he states explicitly in his treatise, *Ueber die Französischen Gralromane*, p. 188. With regard to the *Lancelot*, however, Brugger is certainly in error, when he says: "der Lancelot ist eine Einheit und jede Teilung ist willkürlich." I am myself almost tempted to say that we might as well speak of the Old or the New Testament as an "Einheit." In the first place, he is wrong in his assertion: "Die Unterscheidung eines Agravainromans (sie rührt von P. Paris her) hat nicht die geringste Berechtigung weder in der Überlieferung noch sonst." In a number of MSS. from the thirteenth century down we have the *Agravain* (as it is still convenient to call it) as the only part of the *Lancelot* proper joined to the later branches of the cycle.⁹⁷ Of course, every one recognizes that it is merely a continuation of the original *Lancelot* (in my judgment not so late in date as some other parts of the *Lancelot* of our MSS.)—and in that sense not a separate romance—but the manuscript conditions strengthen the suspicion, suggested by other circumstances, that it is a continuation undertaken independently by its author.⁹⁸ But aside from the *Agravain*, does Brugger wish to maintain that the remainder of the *Lancelot* constitutes an "Einheit"—that the excellent pictures of feudal strife in the wars of

but nothing corresponding to the last two members of Aeschylus' trilogy. Why shouldn't the writers of Arthurian prose romances have exercised the same liberty? The scale on which the individual romances are planned makes it all the more probable that they did exercise such a liberty. After that, as I have argued above, these immense compositions could have been combined.

⁹⁷ In the Introduction to my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. xvi ff., I have enumerated four such MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, one in the British Museum and one in the Phillipps Library. This does not include the MSS. which link with the last two members of the cycle the *Agravain*, but incomplete. Again in the other MSS. that contain the whole *Lancelot* we have the *Agravain* beginning a new division. Miss Weston, in my judgment, is much nearer to the mark than Brugger, when she says (*The Legend of Sir Lancelot*, p. 149, note) of Paulin Paris' observation concerning the separation of the *Agravain* in the manuscript tradition: "One of the useful hints of this scholar that might have earlier been taken into consideration."

⁹⁸ As I have remarked elsewhere in this article it is not certain, in my opinion, that all of the *Agravain* even is from one hand. The bulk of it, however, doubtless was.

Claudas and the charming descriptions of childhood in the early part of this branch are from the same hand or formed a part of the same plan as the unutterable inanities that follow on the Charrette section in this same romance? If there is a work in all literature that is more plainly composite than the prose *Lancelot*, I do not know what it is.⁹⁹ But that its composite character is due to collaboration I see no reason for admitting. Even before minor insertions were made by the *assembleurs* (according to my theory), when they were bringing the romances of the cycle into closer manuscript union, I have no doubt that the *Lancelot* in its original form had already undergone various expansions. These expansions, however, I believe, were almost exclusively simply additions (whether forwards or backwards). The scribes or *assembleurs* have everywhere taken the liberty of inserting cross-references from time to time, but I see no ground for the opinion, very commonly held, that the older material was recast on any considerable scale by *Redaktoren* or any one else.

Granting then the existence of the *Lancelot* in its original form and the *Galahad-Queste* as separate works, what was the next stage in the evolution of the cycle? In my opinion, it was the composition of the *Mort Artu*. Then would follow the *Grand Saint Graal* and the *Merlin*, respectively, the author of the latter branch using for the beginning of his romance the prose-rendering (already in existence) of Robert de Boron's *Merlin*.

The assembling of these romances in the same MSS. began, no doubt, before the last of the cycle was written. Owing to the moderate length of the *Queste* and *Mort Artu* as well as to the fact that the latter carried on directly the Arthurian story where the former had left it off, these two romances were, probably from the time that the *Mort Artu* was first composed, usually combined in the same MSS.

On the theory which I have here outlined, the incorporation of

⁹⁹ The term "Einheit" seems hardly applicable from any point of view, for the *Lancelot*, as it stands in the MSS., is one of the most rambling works in literature. Brugger, himself, assumes throughout his articles different stages in the development of the romance, so I don't see why he should apply this term to it. If he means that from stage to stage a coherent plan was still maintained, this view would conflict in the most obvious way with the facts.

parts of one romance of the cycle in another,¹⁰⁰ the imitations of one romance in another,¹⁰¹ the unevennesses¹⁰² which we observe in the cycle are explicable, as they are not on the theory of collaborative authorship. The *assembleurs* who put together the romances in the form in which these works have come down to us took the manuscripts of the different branches as they found them and did not go over them with care enough to weed out such repetitions or to observe the inequalities which they contained; the imitations, of course, did not concern men who were merely fitting together the branches. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that such a procedure should have prevailed, if the romances of the cycle had been the result of conscious collaboration.

There is, in my judgment, only one stage of cyclic development behind the one preserved in the actual MSS. of the Vulgate cycle which can be argued for—at least, as regards the *Queste* branch—with any show of probability and even in this I have, personally, no belief—that stage, namely, which would represent a common source for the Vulgate cycle and the so-called Robert de Boron cycle. But as regards these two cycles, we have seen that the *Mort Arthur* of the latter is merely a modification of the *Mort Arthur* of the former. The same relation is observable in the *Merlin* sections of the two cycles.¹⁰³ On the other hand, if the Robert de Boron cycle ever had a *Lancelot*, it is lost and the *Grand Saint Graal* of the cycle which appears to be preserved only in a Portuguese version (Torre do Tombo MS.) has never been printed, so that really, as far as our present knowledge goes, the theory that the Robert de Boron cycle was derived not from the Vulgate cycle but from a common source narrows down to the *Queste* section. And what is the evidence here? The only older element of any real importance absent

¹⁰⁰ Parts of the *Grand Saint Graal*, for instance, are incorporated in the *Lancelot* and *Queste*. See Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, IV, 324 ff., and VI, 151 ff.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, the numerous imitations of the *Lancelot* in the *Mort Artu* which I have recorded in my notes to the latter—the restoration of Guinevere to Arthur through the Pope's interference, etc.

¹⁰² For example, the wars in Gaul against the Romans appear three times in the cycle, (1) in the *Merlin* (Sommer, II, 424 ff.), (2) in the *Lancelot* (*ibid.*, V, 370 ff.), (3) in the *Mort Artu* (pp. 197 ff. of my edition).

¹⁰³ This section of the Robert de Boron cycle is best represented by the *Huth-Merlin*.

from the extant MSS. of the Vulgate *Queste* which is contained in the *Queste* of the Robert de Boron cycle (as represented by the Spanish and Portuguese *Demanda's* and the fragments in MSS. 112 and 343 of the Bibliothèque Nationale) is the account of Gawain's slaying of Baudemagus. But this incident is necessarily implied in the narrative of the Vulgate *Queste*, so that it must have stood once in the *Queste* of that cycle, and its absence from our MSS. must be due to a defect of the archetype from which these MSS. are descended.¹⁰⁴

Now if we are able to show (as I trust that I have shown) that the extant materials, which are very abundant, give us no ground to believe that there was any Mort Arthur romance before MA (the Vulgate form)¹⁰⁵ and if we can explain in a satisfactory way how this romance was built up out of the *Tristan* poems, the prose *Lancelot* and an expanded Wace (to say nothing of minor sources and the author's own genius), I contend that we are not obliged to lay aside all these reasonable conclusions, because they conflict with a theory of the origin of the prose cycles which rests on the basis of a series of unprovable assumptions like that of Brugger and Miss Weston. The idea that no one could write a *Queste* (whether with Perceval or Galahad as the hero) unless a Mort Arthur was pro-

¹⁰⁴ In *Romania*, XXXVI, 594 ff. (1907), A. Pauphilet has already called into question the assumed priority of the Robert de Boron cycle. The whole article is very instructive. The best statement of the reasons for supposing that the Portuguese (Spanish) *Demanda* contains older elements than the Vulgate *Queste* will be found in R. Heinzel's *Über die französischen Gralromane*, pp. 168 f. Besides the point mentioned above, Heinzel cites in this connection the fact that Lancelot's rôle is not so much stressed in the *Demanda* and the slightly looser connection of the *Demanda* with the *Grand Saint Graal* of the Vulgate cycle. The first of these matters is, however, evidently subjective. As to the second, the *Grand Saint Graal*, to which the *Demanda* was fitted, was not that of the Vulgate cycle, but of the so-called Robert de Boron cycle, which, as said above, remains unprinted to this day. Heinzel himself remarks (p. 169) on the large number of points in which the *Demanda* is plainly secondary as compared with the Vulgate *Queste*.

¹⁰⁵ Such, for instance, as the existence of isolated redactions of other members of the cycle: e. g., the *Merlin*-continuation of MS. 337 and the unprinted redaction of Part II, pp. 1-204 (Sommer's ed.) of the *Lancelot*. There is no reason to believe that these were parts of some different redaction of the whole cycle. The *Queste* of the so-called Robert de Boron cycle would prove the same thing, if it really were derived from the source of the Vulgate *Queste* and not from that romance itself, for the *Mort Arthur* of this cycle is plainly a modification of the Vulgate. I believe, however, that the same is true of the *Queste*.

vided for and *vice versa* is an implication of this theory. But, apart from any other objection, this idea is refuted by the fact mentioned above that the *Galahad-Queste*, as we have it in the Vulgate cycle, does not contain a single allusion to a Mort Arthur in any form and might have been read by all contemporary readers of romance without the feeling that it was not finished because it did not end with a Mort Arthur. What reader of the present day, indeed, who was unacquainted with Arthurian romance, would imagine on reading the *Queste*, by itself, that it had to have a sequel? Similarly, the *Perlesvaus*, as I have already pointed out, not only has no Mort Arthur section but could not have one.

But, it may be objected, how about the allusions to Perceval as the hero of the Grail-quest in the prose *Lancelot*? I cannot ascribe to these allusions the importance that Brugger and some others do, for, as a matter of fact, no existing MS. of the Vulgate cycle includes a *Perceval-Queste*, and my discussion of the Mort Arthur theme shows that in all the extant materials relating to that romance there is not a trace of its having been connected with a *Perceval-Queste*. We have, to be sure, in the *Didot-Perceval* a brief (and, to my mind, worthless) Mort Arthur in the same MS. as a *Perceval-Queste*, but the connection is purely mechanical; they stand in no vital relation.

Let us examine, however, the above-mentioned allusions which are supposed to prove that at one time a *Queste* of which Perceval was the hero actually occupied in the series the place which in the Vulgate MSS., as we have them, is filled by the *Queste* of which Galahad is the hero. There are three such passages¹⁰⁶ and Dr. Sommer, for example, speaks of these three references "which ignorant and careless scribes failed to suppress after they had become meaningless"—that is, after a *Galahad-Queste* had been substituted for the original *Perceval-Queste*. Let us see what they are:

1. In a passage not far from the beginning of the *Lancelot* (G. Brauner, *Der altfranzösische Prosaroman von Lancelot del Lac*, I. Branche, p. 48 and Sommer, III, 29) it is said that only two ladies

¹⁰⁶ They are quoted by Dr. Sommer, p. xiii of the Introduction to his *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, I. Cp. also P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, IV, 87.

in Logres (Arthur's kingdom) compared with Guinevere in beauty. The one was Helienne-sanz-per—"Et l'autre fu fille au Roi Mehaig-nie, ce fu li rois Pelles, qui fu peres Perlesvax a celui qui vit apertement les Granz Mervoilles del Graal, et acompli lo Siege Perilleus de la Table Reonde, et mena a fin les aventures del Reiaume Peril-leus Aventureus, ce fu li regnes de Logres. Cele fu sa suer, si fu de si grant biaute que nus des contes ne dit que nule qui a son tens fust, se poist de biaute a li apareillier, si avoit non Amide en sor-non, et an son droit non Heliabel."

This is the reading, it would seem, of the best MSS., although not so universal as one might infer from the fact that only one variant MS. is cited by Brauner, who claims to have prepared his edition from all the known MSS. He has gone through them all to a certain extent, it is true, and has worked out their genealogy to discover which are the best but he does not quote all variant readings.¹⁰⁷

2. We have a reference to "li conte de Perceval" in two *Lancelot* MSS.—Lansdowne 757 (British Museum) and MS. 751 (Bibl. Nat.) The words are:

"Et le grant conte de lancelot couient repairier en la fin a perceval qui est chies et la fin de toz les contes as autres cheualiers. Et tuit sont branches de lui por ce quil acheua le grant queste. Et li contes de perceval meismes est une branche del haut conte del graal qui est chiez de tout les contes. Car por le graal se traueillent tuit li bon cheualier dont lan parole de celui tans."

3. A single MS. No. 754 (Bibl. Nat.), has also the following passage in which Perceval is said to have delivered Merlin from the confinement to which he had been committed by Vivien through the spell which she won from him. Here it is declared that no one ever saw Merlin after his confinement until he was delivered by Perceval, "qui vit la grant merueille del graal apres la mort de Lancelot si com li contes vos deuisera ca auant." There is some error here, for according to the *Queste* and *Mort Artu*, Perceval's death preceded that of Lancelot by a number of years.

Now, of the references I have cited the last two have evidently

¹⁰⁷ How far short of the pretensions of its title-page this edition (still in progress) of Professor Wechsler's pupils falls has been vigorously exposed by E. Brugger, *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XL, 37 ff. (1912).

little importance, since they are found merely in two MSS. and one MS. respectively. Only the first then requires serious consideration. It is to be remarked at the outset that there is an error of statement even in this reference, for it makes Pelles the father of Perceval, whereas in the Grail-romance, *Perlesvaux*, he is his uncle and in the *Queste* and last division of the *Lancelot* he is the father of Galahad's mother—so is not connected with Perceval at all. This error to a marked degree weakens the authority of the passage. But even overlooking this, are we justified on the basis of such a single passage in drawing the large inference of Brugger, Sommer and others that the cycle of the prose romances was once arranged with reference to a Perceval-*Queste* instead of a Galahad-*Queste*? Against this inference it is to be remembered that in the extant MSS. the Galahad-*Queste* is the only one actually preserved—moreover, that references in all the MSS. which contain parts of the cycle, and which are nearly a hundred in number, imply that the *Queste* member of the cycle is a Galahad-*Queste*. The references to Galahad in these MSS., as we have them, run through the whole cycle. In view of this state of things, is it not better to seek some other explanation for the passages in question? May not the writer by a confusion of memory be mixing here the Galahad-*Queste* with the *Perlesvaux* in which Perceval was the Grail hero? The Seat Perilous does not figure in the *Perlesvaux*—it belongs to the Galahad-*Queste*—but all the rest applies equally to the two versions. Writers are guilty of such confusion of memory, and to me at least it seems more natural to explain the above-quoted passage in this manner than to build up the huge hypothesis which is advocated by Brugger and others. Moreover, the form of Perceval's name here, "Perlesvax," accords with the supposition that the writer had in mind the romance which we call by that name. The passage, after all, may have stood in the *Lancelot* before that romance was combined with the cycle and have been left there through inadvertence after the combination, though it did not harmonize with the Galahad-*Queste*. As we have seen above, the *Lancelot* had a history before this combination. That it had already undergone expansion can hardly be denied, so the passage under consideration may well have been inserted in its earlier development.

As a matter of fact, Brugger does take these allusions as refer-

ring to the *Perlesvaus*, but to the *Perlesvaus* as an integral part of the cycle before it was supplanted by the *Galahad-Queste*. But, as I have already observed, how could the *Perlesvaus* have ever formed a part of a cycle even remotely resembling the Vulgate? For as I have already had occasion to remark more than once, in this romance Guinevere, contrary to the general tradition of the Arthurian romances, dies long before the end on account of her son Lohot whom Kay has treacherously slain. How can one find a place for such a romance in a cycle that concludes with the *Mort Artu*—the subject of which is the intrigue of Lancelot and Guinevere, the detection of that intrigue, the wars that follow, Mordred's treason, the final battle between Arthur and Mordred, together with Guinevere's flight to a convent, where she dies as a nun? The two conceptions of Guinevere's end are manifestly incompatible and, as far as I can discover, Brugger has made no attempt to reconcile the contradiction. He would say, of course, that the *Perlesvaus* in its original form differed from that of the extant MSS. Arguments of this kind, however, have to be used always with caution, and the death of Guinevere as we find it in the MSS. of the *Perlesvaus* is evidently an integral conception of the romance. No reason whatever for asserting that it was not has ever been brought forward. Sommer's theory that the Perceval romance referred to is not the *Perlesvaus* but some lost *Perceval-Queste* is at least not open to this criticism. I do not believe, however, that either supposition is correct. Altogether, in my judgment, there is no need of resorting to these complicated theories which assume from the inception of the prose-romances a successive series of combinations of which there is no manuscript evidence.¹⁰⁸

J. DOUGLAS BRUCE

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE.

¹⁰⁸ Since the above pages were written, Brugger's article embracing a discussion of these *Perlesvaus* allusions has appeared, *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XL, 37 ff. (see especially 47 ff.). He examines the readings of the various *Lancelot* MSS. in detail, but his discussion does not affect the explanation which I have offered in the above as to how these allusions got into the cycle. The assumption of the series of antecedent hypothetical cycles lies at the basis of what he says here also, but I have already given my reasons for not believing in this assumption.

THE SOURCES OF THE ROMAN DE LA VIOLETTE

THE *Roman de la Violette*,¹ which was probably written between 1225 and 1230,² belongs to the Cycle de la Gageure. A general study of this cycle was made by Gaston Paris and the results of his investigations have been published by M. Bédier.³ The present brief article is concerned only with the immediate sources of the *Violette*.

The plot of the poem is as follows:

The author, Gerbert de Montreuil (the name is given in line 6636), begins by telling how much *savoir* is to be preferred to *avoir*, then, after praising the story which he is about to tell, he names it and dedicates it to the Countess of Ponthieu (1-66). There was formerly in France a certain King Louis, young and handsome, who honored knights and fair ladies. One Easter he held court at Pont de l'Arche; numerous lords and ladies attended, carols were sung and danced. Among the courtiers was Gerart de Nevers, renowned as a singer; he sings and tells of his love for the fair EuriAUT. Lisiart, the traitor, offers to wager his lands against Gerart's that he can render EuriAUT unfaithful. In spite of the King's remonstrances the wager is made. Lisiart disguises himself as a pilgrim and goes to Nevers to see EuriAUT. He is unsuccessful in winning EuriAUT's love, but Gondrée,⁴ EuriAUT's duenna, offers to aid him. She bores a hole through the wall of EuriAUT's room, thus Lisiart sees her at her bath and notices the mark of the violet on her breast; he goes back to court and offers his knowledge of the violet as proof of EuriAUT's infidelity. Gerart sends his nephew, Geoffroi, to bring EuriAUT to court. She arrives and a long description is given of her beauty and of her costume. EuriAUT is accused

¹ Edited by Francisque Michel, Paris, 1834.

² See *Ro.* XXXII, 539 ff.

³ *Ro.* XXXII, 481-551.

⁴ Rochs (*Ueber den Veilchen-Roman*, Dissertation, Halle, 1882, p. 5) sees in this name a possible connection with Cundrie in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*; see also below, note 5.

by Lisiart and Gerart in grief is forced to acknowledge her guilt and the loss of his lands. Gerart rides away with the girl to punish her. They enter a forest and he is about to put her to death with his sword when she warns him of the approach of a great serpent; he kills the serpent and then, as she has saved his life, he gives up the idea of putting her to death and merely abandons her in the forest, where she is found by the Duke of Metz and his followers (67-1127). The Duke falls in love with her and wishes to marry her, much against the will of his followers. Euriaut refuses, but the Duke is so much in love with her that he takes her away to Metz (1128-1282). Gerart in the meantime complaining of woman's deceit decides to go to Nevers to see what has become of Lisiart. He first goes to a jongleur's house and there disguises himself as a jongleur. In this costume he arrives at his former castle in Nevers, where he sings before Lisiart and Gondrée. He overhears them as they tell of Euriaut's innocence and their own treachery. Gerart leaves at once in search of Euriaut (1283-1515). From this point to line 5108 the poem has the characteristics of the ordinary roman d'aventure. These adventures were added by Gerbert to the principal motif of the gageure. The first tells of the rescue of a lady whose castle and lands were coveted by Galerans,⁵ Lord of the Gorgerans; Gerart kills Galerans in single combat and, wounded, is nursed back to health by the lady, who falls in love with him. Gerart leaves her, however, intent on his search for Euriaut (1516-2265). He falls ill in the house of a bourgeois of Châlons whose daughter, Marote, one day sings a chanson de toile in which occurs the name of Euriaut (this song has been preserved only in the *Violette*). This name arouses Gerart and he leaves,

⁵ Langlois, *Table des Noms propres*, cites thirty characters of this name occurring in the chansons de geste. Cf. the following from Gaydon (*Anciens Poètes de la France*, vol. 7, ll. 6917 ff.), where three names found in the *Violette* occur in three successive lines:

Berars a mort Galerant gorge enflee
Et Viviens, Garin le fil Gondree,
Girars, Humbaut a la teste meslee . . .

In preparation for the fight with Galerans Gerart puts on a hauberk which once belonged to Alexander the Great and a helmet which formerly belonged to Esclamor de Baudaire (in the Provençal version of *Fierabras* mention is made of a Saracen chief, named Esclamor d'Amiata).

taking away a hawk which Marote has given him. He next saves Duke Miles of Cologne from the Saxons who are besieging his city.⁶ Miles' daughter, Aiglente, and her maid, Florentine, fall in love with Gerart. After fighting valorously against the Saxons, Gerart is brought back wounded to the castle. The two jealous girls quarrel, but by a magic potion, as in the Tristan legend, Aiglente wins Gerart's love and makes him forget Euriaut until one day when hawking his falcon brings down a lark which has around its neck the ring he had given Euriaut (she had slipped the ring over the bird's head one day at Metz and the bird had flown away).⁷ The sight of the ring counteracts the love-potion and Gerart continues his search for Euriaut, after remaining about a year at Cologne. Meantime Euriaut at Metz had spurned the advances of a knight named Meliatur. In order to avenge the insult Meliatur murders the Duke's sister while she is sleeping with her friend Euriaut and places Euriaut's hand on the dagger⁸ in order that she may be falsely accused of the murder (2502-4417). Gerart, after leaving Aiglente, meets a knight who has been wounded in an unsuccessful attempt to save his wife from an enemy. Gerart punishes the enemy, rescues the lady and conducts the wounded man to his castle.⁹ Gerart next rescues a maiden from a giant, Baudaligans, who is suffering from a disease that can be relieved only by eating human flesh; the giant is about to take the girl and her brothers from their father when Gerart kills him in single combat. Gerart continues his search for Euriaut and meets a number of people going to Euriaut's trial, for she has been accused of murdering the Duke's sister (4418-5156). Gerart joyfully accompanies these people and, on arriving at the scene of the trial just as Euriaut

⁶ See *Jean Bodels Saxonlied*, ed. by Menzel and Stengel (in *A. und A.*, vols. 99 and 100); on p. 259 mention is made of a Duke Miles of Cologne besieged by the Saxons; there is also in this poem an Aiglente (Aiglande), sister of Guiteclin.

⁷ The *Escoufle* is suggested; however, in the *Violette* the bird with the ring serves to unite the lovers instead of to separate them; see P. Meyer's edition, *S. A. T. F.*, vol. 34, p. xxxii, where other poems with this motif are mentioned.

⁸ Rochs, l. c., p. 8, calls attention to a similar motif in the Old English poem *Offa and Thrydo* (see H. Suchier, *Ueber die Sage von Offa und Thrydo*, in Paul and Braune's *Beitr.* IV, 1877, p. 516).

⁹ In connection with such an episode, which is suggestive of many of the Arthurian adventures, it should be remembered that the author of the *Violette* is identical with the Gerbert who was the continuator of the *Grail*.

is offering her last prayer¹⁰ before being burned to death, he demands a trial by combat. This is granted and he as champion of Euriant forces Meliatir to acknowledge his guilt (5157-5650). Gerart next goes to a great tournament held at Montargis in which he compels Lisiart to confess his treachery before he is put to death. Gondrée is punished by being boiled to death. The lovers are married amid great rejoicing and then return to Nevers. The patroness, Marie de Ponthieu, is again praised and the poem closes (5651-6656).

The *Roman du Comte de Poitiers*¹¹ begins with an eulogy of Pepin, in whose reign the story is placed. Gerart (cf. the hero's name in the *Violette*), Comte de Poitiers, comes with other nobles to court amid great feasting. The Duke of Normandy, hearing him speak of his charming and beautiful wife, offers to wager Normandy against Poitou that he will be able to render the Count's wife unfaithful. The wager is accepted and the Duke goes to Poitiers where he finds the Countess seated beneath a tree with a large company. The Duke presents himself as a friend of the Count and is invited to dine. His crude and ardent advances during and after dinner anger the Countess, who repulses him. The Duke turns away and is met by the Countess' duenna, who offers to serve him in return for money and jewels, which are gladly promised. The duenna succeeds in getting the Countess' marriage ring, ten strands of her hair and a bit of her dress, all of which she gives to the Duke. He takes these objects to Paris as proof of the infidelity of the Countess. The Count in his anger knocks out two of the Duke's teeth and quotes a proverb:

Il est fols qui sor piere seme.

Salemons fu honis par feme (358),

which is also given in the *Violette*:

¹⁰ The prayer covers 150 lines; besides the prayers of Lothaire and of the Duchesse de Bouillon in the *Chevalier au Cygne*, there is one by Olivier in *Fierabras* (*Anciens Poètes de la France*, vol. 4, ll. 920 ff.) strikingly like that of the *Violette*.

¹¹ Ed. Fr. Michel, Paris, 1831; the influence of the *Comte de Poitiers* on the *Violette* has already been pointed out by Rochs, l. c.; he does not, however, allude to other important influences mentioned in this article.

Salemons, ki molt par fu sages,
Rechut par femme mains damages (1285).¹²

The Count sends his nephew, Geoffroi (cf. the name of the nephew in the *Violette*), to Poitiers to fetch the Countess. The Countess arrives at court and in spite of her protestations she is deemed guilty because of the evidence of the three apparent favors. Pepin decides that the Duke has won the wager. The Count takes his wife away. After riding two days and two nights they come to a forest where they dismount. The Count is about to put the Countess to death, when she cries out to warn him of an approaching lion. The Count kills the lion and then, as the Countess has saved his life, he abandons her in the wood without putting her to death. Her grief. She is found by Harpin, a nephew of the Count. Harpin takes her to his castle. After abandoning his wife the Count encounters a great serpent which he kills (in the *Violette* the serpent appears instead of the lion and the second unnecessary episode is omitted). After a peasant has refused to exchange clothes with him, he persuades a pilgrim¹³ to do so, and thus disguised he sets out to find the Duke and to avenge himself. The Count finds the Duke at Poitiers, where he is living with the old duenna, who has become his mistress; he learns from their conversation that his wife is innocent and in joy sets out to find her. He chances to come to Harpin's castle almost at once (the *Violette* here introduces the long relation of Gerart's adventures, which is not derived from the *Comte de Poitiers* nor from the *Cycle de la Gageure*). Harpin is about to marry the Countess against her will. Joy of the Count and Coun-

¹² The phraseology of the *Comte de Poitiers* is elsewhere suggested in the *Violette*. In the scene where the heroine is abandoned in the wood the Count tells her in his anger:

On vous devoit ardoir en cendre
Con laron qui enble par fosse (512),

and in the *Violette*, when Euriat is found by the Duke of Metz, she tells him:

Si sui fille a .I. caretier,
Encor servi d'autre mestier,
Car. I. larron fossier sivoie (1199).

¹³ In the *Violette* Gerart is disguised as a jongleur, which is better adapted to his character of a singer; the pilgrim's guise is, however, used in the *Violette* by Lisiart when he visits Euriat.

tess on meeting again. Now that the Count is sure of his wife's innocence, she begs him to avenge her insult. They go to Pepin's court, where they find the Duke and the duenna. The Count accuses the Duke of treachery and in the resulting trial by combat the Count triumphs. The Duke is finally hanged, and the duenna, after having her eyes put out, is relegated to an *hostellerie*. The Count regains his lands (1-1229).

In lines 1230-1719 it is related how Count Gui, the son of the Count and Countess, became Emperor of Constantinople; this part of the poem has no influence on the *Violette*.

A comparison of the summaries of these two poems belonging to the *Cycle de la Gageure* shows that the *Violette* is derived directly from the *Comte de Poitiers* by an amplification of lines 1-1229. The style of the *Comte de Poitiers* is cruder and the poem was apparently written for a more primitive society. Apart from the style, the important changes in motifs are: The title, the knowledge of the mark of a flower on the girl's body instead of the possession of certain alleged presents, the introduction of songs¹⁴ in the context, and the description of certain adventures which the hero has in his search for the heroine. Of these all but the last are derived from the *Roman de la Rose* (*Guillaume de Dole*),¹⁵ a roman d'aventure of the same cycle, written probably about the year 1200. The portion of the *Rose* which is connected with the *Cycle de la Gageure* extends from line 2920 to line 5941 (the end). The *Rose* does not, however, belong to the division of the cycle which comprises the *Violette*; in the *Rose* the girl herself proves her innocence, whereas in the *Violette* and in the *Comte de Poitiers* the hero learns of her innocence from other sources, which is an essential variant in the stories of this cycle.¹⁶

The minor adventures introduced in the *Violette* are not marked by striking originality, but are such as might have been suggested to a poet on reading the romans d'aventure and the epics of the period, e. g., *La Chanson des Saxons*, *Fierabras*, *Tristan*, The

¹⁴ See my article in *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, J. H. U. Press, Baltimore, vol. I, pp. 129 ff.

¹⁵ Ed. Servois, *S. A. T. F.*, vol. 33.

¹⁶ See *l. c.*, *Ro.* XXXII, pp. 481 ff., where a classification of the versions may be found.

Arthurian Stories, perhaps also *L'Esconfie* and *Gaydon* (the date of the latter, however, may be a little later than that of the *Violette*).¹⁷

The characteristics of the author of the *Violette* are, therefore, good taste, refinement and grace, rather than striking originality, and the poem follows the *Rose* in form, style and certain motifs, but its plot is derived directly by amplification from the first part of the *Comte de Poitiers*.

DOUGLAS L. BUFFUM.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

¹⁷ Gaston Paris, *La lit. fr. au m. âge*, Tableau chronologique.

MISCELLANEOUS

OLD FRENCH *ESTOVOIR*

IN his *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, Godefroy defines *estovoir* as follows: "*v. impers., falloir, être nécessaire, convenir.*" The purpose of this note is to call attention to two occurrences of *estovoir* used as a personal verb.

"Sire," fait el, "bien devons querre
Comment nostre fuis tiegne terre,
Et qu'il ne perde pas s'honor
Por l'amistié de Blanceflor;
Mais qui li porroit si tolir
Qu'ele n'en *estéust* morir,¹
Cou m'est a vis plus bel seroit."
(Du Mériel's edition of *Floire et Blanceflor*, I, 305-12.)

Quant vint el demain par matin,
Si ralerent tuit al devin,
Et demandent quel la feront,
Et il de par les deus respont,
Que de lor aler est neienz,
Se Eolus, li deus des venz,
Nen esteit primes apaiez,
Qu'uns Greus li fust sacrefiëz:
Uns d'els i estoveit morir,
Se ja s'en deveient partir.

(*Le Roman d'Énéas*, 1011-20.)

In an article on the etymology of *estovoir*, Walberg says: Pour terminer, je ferai remarquer que, à la différence du verbe français, le rhétorom. *stuvair* est personnel: en haut-engad on dit, par exemple, *eau stu partir*—"il me faut partir, je dois partir." The examples cited above show that the use of *estovoir* as a personal verb was also known in Old French.

OLIVER M. JOHNSTON.

LELAND STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

¹ MS. A reads: Quil ne len esteust morir.

PHONOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

I.—*Anser* IN SPANISH

Speaking of Latin consonant-groups, Menéndez Pidal says:¹ "Ya en latín vulgar *NS* se reducía á *S*, . . . siendo excepción rara el aragonés que dice *ansa*, *pansa* *pansu* (y asimila á éstos *ursu* por **ursu onso*). Más que aragonesas, hemos de creer voces tardías *ánsar anser*, *manso*, *mansedumbre* (semiculta también por conservar la protónica . . .)." I do not understand how *pansa* could come from *pansu* (a misprint for *pansa*?); but the other cases can all be considered natural developments. In Portuguese the extension of nasalization is common: *mãe* < *matre*, *mim* < *mihi*, *minha* < **mia* < *mea*, *muíto*² < *multu*, *nem* < *nec*, *ninho* < **nio* < *nidu*, and dialectally *mãjor*³ < *maiore*, *mon*⁴ < *amore*, *nonte*⁵ < *nocte*. Changes of the same kind are to be found in Spanish, such as *almendra*, *mancha*, *manzana* beside *mazaneta*, Asturian and Andalusian *muncho*. We may therefore assume similar developments in *un(a) ansa* < *un(a) asa*, *un onso* < *un oso*, *manso* < **maso* (probably with voiceless *s*) < *mansue*. Evidently *un ánsar* could have developed in the same way, though another possibility is that *n* is the word *ganso* (= German *gans*): compare Rumanian *popór* < *populu*, with stress-change due to *noród*, a synonym of Slavonic origin.⁶ It is rather amusing to notice that the Spanish Academy's *Diccionario* makes *ganso* a derivative of *anser*.

It seems hardly right to call *mansedumbre* bookish, merely on account of the second vowel, especially as Menéndez Pidal himself admits that parallel forms, like *hospedado* and *pedregoso*, may be considered normal. In each of these the loss of the second vowel would have involved a consonant-change too; presumably the dislike

¹ *Gramática histórica española*, 85, Madrid, 1905.

² Vianna, *Portugais*, 54, Leipzig, 1903.

³ *Revista lusitana*, vii, 43.

⁴ *Revista lusitana*, vii, 249.

⁵ *Revista lusitana*, vii, 250.

⁶ *ROMANIC REVIEW*, i, 433.

ov such great alteracions, if thay ever existed, woz hwot protected (or restoard) the longer forms. The so-cald 'law' for the loss ov weak vowels iz by no means a simpl matter; in meny cases it woz at first enforst and afterwards repeald: *crece* < *crez* < *crescit*, *dulce* < *dulz* < *dulce*, *nueve* < *nuef* < *noue*.

2.—*Niue* IN HISPANIC AND PROVENCIAL

In Inglish thær ar two time-worn terms expressing lihtness: *fether* and *snow*. In erly Romanic speech the use ov 'snow' woz favord by the likeness ov *lëue* and *niue*, and in some rejons it led to the riming ov thees werds. The clôs *e* ov *neve*, kept in Italian and implied in French *neif* > *noif*, thus became open in Portugees *leve como a neve*, Provencial *leu com la neu*, and shows the uzual breaking in Spanish *lieve como la nieve*. Modern Catalan *e* iz clôs in *neu*; but it may hav formerly bin open, for the Catalan derivativs ov *dëu* and *lëue* hav clôs *e*, aparently az a normal development.

In his *Phonology and Morphology* (p. 16), Prof. Grandgent ses that the open *e* ov Prov. *neu* woz du to the vowels ov *bren*, *greu*, *leu*. I think this statement justifies the remark ov A. Thomas (*Romania*, XXXIV, 332); heer, az elsehwær, the idëa ov influence seems rather straind. In vew ov the Horacian lines

uidēs ut altā stet niue candidum
Sōracte nec iam sustineant onus
silvae labōrantēs gelūque
flūmina constiterint acūtō?

it iz clear that the Romans may hav ocazionaly asociated *gravis* with *nix*. But in the mōst thickly settld porcions ov Romania, the burden ov hevy snows woz not a common anoyance; and in the south ov France, especially, the climet can hardly be cald arctic. I thærfoar dout the probability ov *greu*-influence on *neu*, tho the posibility can-not be gained. The asociacion ov *brenis* with *nix* seems even moar unlikely. Do we ofn say *short rain* or *short snow-storm*? Thees expressions sound unuzual to me; the reason for thair rarity apears to be that a very long storm iz notewerthy, hwile a short wone iz not. And furthermoar, if *neu* woz afected by *bren* and *greu*, the same principl wood hardly aply to the Hispanic ecwivalents. Span.

breve and Port. *breve* ar bookish; i cannot find eny evidence ov a popular **brieve* in Spanish. The form *grieve* iz recorded, but i suspect it ov being a Gallic loan-werd. Thus it seems simplest to asume *leue*-influence in all three langwejes.

3.—PROVENCIAL *r* FOR *n*.

Provencial commonly has *-rgue* insted ov *-ngue* < *-nicu*. In *Romania*, XXXIV, 333, speaking ov this development, A. Thomas ses: "ce changement de *n* en *r* est probablement lié à la présence du son explosif *g* après lui." We ar not tôld hwy *g* cauzd *n* to become *r*. The reazon seems plain, houeever, if we consider the sounds insted ov the spelling. In *-ngue* < *-nicu*, the velar sound η replaced dental *n*, on acount ov the folloing *g*. In erly Romanic speech, az in modern Italian, Provencial and Spanish, the sound η woz the ônly nazal that cood stand befoar a velar consonant ov the same werd. To avoid a chanje ov the apical-velar groop *ng* to the velar-velar groop *ng*, it woz necesery to replace *n* by an oral sound. A similar formacion ov *r* from *n*, in contact with a labial, iz seen in *carbe*, a variant ov *cambe* = Italian *cànape* or *cànapo*. These werds, hwich cannot be directly conected with *cannabe*, seem to be parcialy Jermanic: compare English *hemp* < *hæneþ*, reprezenting **hanap-*. In *marsip* = *massip* = *mansip*, the chanje ov *n* to *r* woz an alternativ to its disappearance.

E. H. TUTTLE

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

REVIEWS

Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia*, Edited and Annotated by C. H. Grandgent, Professor of Romance Languages in Harvard University. D. C. Heath & Co., Publishers [1913].

During the last thirty years greater progress has been made in Dante studies, and in every branch of research, than in the preceding four centuries. These few years have seen the publication of the most important of the older commentaries, that of Benvenuto da Imola, critical editions of the *De vulgari eloquio* and of the *Vita Nuova* due respectively to Rajna and to Barbi; concordances to the *Divina Commedia*, to the minor Italian works, and to the Latin works, the results of the industry of Fay, Sheldon and Rand; studies devoted either to the elucidation of difficult passages such as those of Moore, D'Ancona and Novati, or those devoted to literary and philosophical interpretation such as have been written by Flamini, Busnelli and Vossler; treatises on the poet's influence in various literatures such as Farinelli's remarkable masterpiece of literary criticism, *Dante e la Francia*, and Toynbee's conscientious compilation, *Dante in English Literature*. Recent publications in related fields of study such as Egger-Holder's edition of the Chronicle of Salimbene, and important studies and publications upon the early history of the Franciscan order, and the beginnings of Italian language and schools of poetry, have added to our information in regard to the times and conditions under which Dante lived and wrote.

There has been an equal progress made in editions of the *Divina Commedia*. Only twenty years ago those most popular were reissues of Fraticelli's, Bianchi's and Camerini's editions, of which the first was published in 1864, and the other two in 1868. In these the use or non-use of Witte's critical studies furnished an equally unsatisfactory text; as for the commentaries on the text they almost justify Voltaire's remark about earlier commentaries: "C'est peut-être une raison de plus pour n'être pas compris." Casini's edition, published in 1892, forms a striking contrast to these imprints, as it was the production of a scholar who brought into play his philological training, in the use he made of the older commentaries and of modern critical studies. The single volume edition of Scartazzini, which appeared the next year, had the faults incidental to an erudition more industrious than perspicacious, and the overloaded notes were not changed for the better in successive editions, of which each was "riveduta, corretta e notevolmente arricchita." Scartazzini was unfortunate in almost invariably choosing the wrong reading of mooted passages, and the corresponding comment, or in supplying his own comment which would fit the preferred reading. Torraca's edition, first published in 1905, was a relief with its concise notes, which showed its editor's accurate knowledge of early Italian, and his wide acquaintance with medieval literature. His one fault is his overfondness for the *lectio difficilior*, and his consequent rejection of explanations of the older commentators which do not square with textual readings which are linguistically justifiable. With the publication of the *Paradiso* Professor Grandgent completes his edition,

which is commendable in every way. He has made a happy combination in basing his text on that of the last edition of Moore's Oxford Dante, and in adopting the general plan of Torraca's commentary. But he has not hesitated to question or deny the authority of either of his predecessors with information he has collected in his own readings, or with interpretations due to his independent judgment.

But Professor Grandgent has done something more than furnish a satisfactory text and running commentary. His introduction of thirty pages is not the usual jejune account of Dante's life and works. It sets forth very concisely and clearly the sources of the poet's moral, theological, and eschatological systems, and of his spiritual and poetical inspirations; it defines the place of the *Divina Commedia* in the literature of its own time and of the world; it emphasizes the perfection of its external structure and the originality of the verse form. A couple of pages are devoted to an account and an estimate of the value of the manuscripts, editions, and commentaries of the poem. Each cantica is prefaced by a few pages devoted to an exposition of its subject and of its treatment, and each canto is preceded by an argument of its contents. It can be said without hesitation that these subsidiary aids, in which there is nothing superfluous, give the reader a clearer comprehension of the poem, as a whole and in detail, than he would be able to get in any other of the countless editions of the poem. For every general view and every specific statement one finds the best and most recent authorities, which make a valuable bibliographical guide for more detailed study. Professor Grandgent shows at once good sense and a delicate literary feeling in his critical judgment, a fine discrimination in his interpretations, and his translations of difficult passages are as pleasing as they are correct.

Now and then Professor Grandgent misses an important point, perhaps intentionally for the sake of brevity, or, again, because one of ten thousand Dante notes has escaped his attention. Thus the verse which tells how Semiramis

Tenne la terra che il Soldan corregge (*Inf.* v 60),

needs more of a comment than: "The lands in Egypt and Syria which the Sultan now rules." It should have been noted that Dante included Egypt under the great queen's rule, because he here failed to make the common medieval distinction between the two Babylons: "Babylonia antiqua a Nembroth gygante [fundata]" and "Babylonia altera, id est Memfis [*i. e.* Cairo] super Nilim" (*Liber floridus*; *Not. & Extr.* XXXVIII, 632, cf. 611; cf. also P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la litt. fr.*, II, 207, n. 1; Jourdain de Blaive, 2146; cf. p. lviii; W. Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, ed. 1906, 270; P. Toynbee, *Dante Res.*, 128, 292). Again, the problem of the stream Eunoe (*Purg.* XXVIII, 123 ff.; XXXIII, 127 ff.) should not be dismissed with the remarks that the conception is the poet's own devising, and that he constructed the name "out of the Greek *εὐνοία*, or directly from *eu*, 'well,' and *noos* or *nos*, 'mind.' One must believe that Dante found and shaped to his own use an account of the Orphic doctrine, according to which the initiate found in Hades two springs, that of Lethe on the left, and that of Mnemosyne on the right. The former he avoided, the latter he drank of, so that he might reign with the other heroes (Rohde, *Psyche*, II, 389-390; Weil, *Journ. d. Savants*, 1895, 219-220; 309-310; 319). One may be as sceptical as Parodi and D'Ovidio about accepting a postulated reading of a possible Orphic

inscription, which makes *E[st]ola* a synonym of *Mnemosyne*, but the pagan conception has survived in the work of the Christian poet (cf. K. Burdach, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1910, 634-4), who would have found nothing objectionable to his own idea of the meaning of the word he picked up, in the definition of a medieval glossary; "*Edola* : favor, benivolentia" (*Corp. gloss.*, II, 318, 38). The contrast of the conceptions of memory and oblivion was emphasized for the Middle Ages in the Rabbinical story of the rings of memory and oblivion, which Moses had made as a devise to rid himself of his Ethiopian wife Tharbis. This story was first told in the Occident by Petrus Comestor in his *Historia scholastica* (*Exod.*, ch. vi; Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CXCVIII, 1144), a work which had such a vogue, as a whole or through such stories as this (cf. *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXVI, 145 ff.; *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, pp. 287, 714; Herbert, *Cat. of Romances*, III, 207), and gained its author a place among the theologians in the heaven of the sun (*Par.*, XII, 134). The interpretation of the two rings as "oracio et jejuni-um" (*Gesta Rom.*, pp. 287-8) throws light on the allegory of the two streams in the Earthly Paradise, especially when we are also told elsewhere that:

"Certe debemus dare carni annulum oblivionis, ut abstrahatur a delectacionibus, que sunt secundum sensum, ut sic obliviscantur delectaciones carnales, sed annulum memorie debet anima sibi retinere, ut videlicet in memoria jugiter habeat penas infernales et novissimum vite sue, ut sic peccatum caro obliviscatur."

Such allegorical explanations show why Dante has his penitent sinners taste of both Lethe and Eunoe,

e non adopra

Se quinci e quindi pria non è gustato.

One wonders, too, why Professor Grandgent has not thought it worth while noting the evident use Dante made of the *Arbor vite crucifixe* of Ubertino da Casale, the latest of the literary sources of the *Divina Commedia* (cf. *e. g. Par.*, XI, 28-42; 64-72; XII, 37-46; *Arbor*, v, 2-3), however poor an opinion the poet may have had of Ubertino's virtues as a leader of the Spiritual Franciscans (*Par.*, XII, 124). An index of proper names should be added to the reissue of this edition, so that it will not be necessary to refer to other editions, inferior in every way to this one, which is as well suited for the general literary public as for class use.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

Les Obres d'Auzias March. Edició crítica per Amadeu Pagès. Volum I. Introducció. Text crític de les Poesies I a LXXIV. Institut d'Estudis Catalans: Palau de la Diputació. Barcelona, MCMXII.

Auzias March et ses Prédécesseurs: Essai sur la poésie amoureuse et philosophique en Catalogne aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Par Amédée Pagès, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur au Lycée de la Rochelle. Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, 1912. Le 194^e fascicule de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.

In these works we greet some of the long-promised results of studies on the chief of the Old Catalan poets—studies begun in Paris under Morel-Fatio in 1886 and first reported on in *Romania* in 1888. This first volume of March's

works (quarto, 426 pp.) contains an Introduction of 181 pages, followed by 74 out of his 128 poems; the remaining poems and a body of notes will comprise a second volume soon to appear. The Introducció, which was presented by the author for his *doctorat*, has been also printed separately by the Institut de Estudis Catalans. Simultaneously with this critical edition of the works from Barcelona in its appropriate Catalanian attire, there comes from Paris a volume in French of 470 pages, intended to portray Ausias March, the man and the poet, in his historical and literary setting.

The Introducció discusses those topics that pertain to the constitution and understanding of the text: the manuscripts, thirteen in number; the nine editions, ranging from 1543 to 1909, only the first five of which were based upon the MSS.; the translations, almost all in Spanish, of which seven were renderings of the complete poems; the commentaries, one of which by Tastu about 1830 had formed the subject of a former article by Pagès—*Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Joseph Tastu*, Montpellier, 1888, in-8, 44 p. (Extr. *de la Revue des langues rom.*, XXXII); the classification of the MSS. and of the five earlier editions; the principles the editor has followed in the constitution of the text; the orthography and the versification; and finally, the classification and the chronology of the poems. For a detailed study of this last question, one must consult: *Étude sur la chronologie des poésies d'Ausias March, Romania*, XXXVI, 1907, pp. 203-223.

To the poems that follow (44 to 60 lines each) are prefixed arguments of three to six lines, and at the foot of the large pages are given the variant readings of the MSS. and the five earlier editions. It should be added, however, that the thirteenth manuscript is in the possession of the Hispanic Society of America and has not been directly utilized in the determination of the readings. A discussion of the critical text must await the second volume.

As for the work on the life and times of March, much might indeed be said. Our first feeling is one of sincere gratitude to the author for this first of critical attempts to revivify, in the light of the totality of the documents, the circle of men and ideas in which the *chevalier*, Ausias March, moved. The documents abound, such as they are; but deeds, testaments, financial statements, accounts of lawsuits are dead things and unfortunately there is a total lack of those vital monuments—correspondence and autobiography. Even the poems serve but too often to convey the posing moments of the poet; the soldier, king's falconer and passionate gentleman that the documents disclose him to have been, hides behind the melancholy, philosophical troubadour. The son and nephew of poets of the late Provençal school, much of his inspiration was an inherited tradition; the *trobar clus* was his model and this explains much of his wilful obscurity and lack of warm, frank sentiments. In many respects, then, the task of the investigator was not a grateful one: the labor was great and the results hardly commensurate. Nevertheless, Pagès has taken his work very seriously: the papers and the poems have been scrutinized microscopically; the gold has been beaten out rather thin. There is much repetition, because the same facts have to do duty from various points of view; the result is a book which we should not care to do without but which is longer than it is enlightening.

The problematic character of much of the data casts an air of unreality over the first part—*Ausias March et sa Famille*. In Chap. IV—*Enfance et Jeunesse d'Ausias March*—we read: "Auz. March naît, vers 1397, probablement dans une

maison du *Carver major*; peut-être même dans une de celles que son quadrisaïeul avait reçues, en 1249, de Jacme I^{er} le Conquérant. . . . Aucun texte n'affirme expressément que notre poète a vu le jour à Gandie. . . ." (Previous biographers have given the date of his birth as 1395 and the place as Valencia.) Farther on, referring to the father, Pere March, the author says: "Marié une première fois, il a eu, comme nous avons cru pouvoir l'induire de plusieurs faits, quatre fils. . . . Auzias n'a jamais parlé de son père. . . ." Again, with regard to the mother: "Tout ce que nous savons de celle qui veilla sur ses premières années se réduit à quelques lignes d'actes officiels. . . . Quelles furent" (speaking again of the son) "son enfance et son adolescence? Nous ne pouvons guère que le supposer ou plutôt le deviner d'après les sources. . . ." And later: "Nous ne savons ni où ni comment l'instruction lui fut donnée. . . ." Between these (and many other such) is a running narrative whose local color and historical verisimilitude are obtained by industrious research and a legitimate use of the imagination.

In the Second Part (pp. 123-192) are treated the three divisions of the Old Catalan literature: the era of transition (1335-1430); the *âge d'or* (1430-1459), which corresponds to the active period of Auzias March; the decadence (1460-1500). The chief concern here, however, is to show what a large share in it belongs to the ancestors of March: Jacme March, his uncle (c. 1335-c. 1396); Pere March, his father (died c. 1413); Arnau March, his cousin (?), whose poems date from about 1409-22. They were all poets of the troubadour tradition, whose language at first Provençal, becomes more and more Catalan; it is only with Auzias March that the latter tongue entirely supersedes the *limousin*. Pagès seems to have been convinced by his study of the predecessors of March and of the latter's works in particular (Part III) that in all essentials this last and greatest of the Marchs continued the tradition of his ancestors. He thus vigorously combats the hitherto generally accepted opinion of scholars that Auzias March was "the Catalan Petrarch." He diligently collates all the references that might be Petrarchian, he sifts them and finds them wanting as to conclusive proof of his literary bondage; he is sure that Dante exercised a greater influence over March than did either Petrarch or Boccaccio, in fine, he concludes that this best of Catalan writers, being even more of a moralist than a poet, was indebted to the same sources as the great Italian poets—the scholastic philosophy and the troubadours. But March did not succeed as well in giving immortal form to certain aspects of this heritage: his range is narrow, his didactic preoccupation leaves his poetry frigid, his obscurity at times outdoes his Provençal models.

It is difficult under any conditions to write a work about a man that will really reflect him; how much more so, when, as in this case, both the documents and the poems are so utterly impersonal! However, we now have an adequate introduction to the poems themselves, whose chief interest for us will probably lie in the language—"une lange bien catalane, sonore, cadencée, vigoureuse." It has not yet been our good fortune to see an article on this subject by Pagès: *Observations sur l'utilité d'une édition critique d'Auzias March pour l'étude de la langue et de l'orthographe catalanes* in the *Communications* to the Primer Congrès Internacional de la Llengua Catalana, Barcelona, Octobre de 1906. Barcelona, 1908, in-8°, pp. 519-521.

L. HERBERT ALEXANDER.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

NOTES AND NEWS

It is significant of a widespread and growing interest in the literary problems connected with the Roland legend, that the *feuilleton* of the Paris *Temps* for January 9, 1914, should be devoted to giving an excerpt from the closing pages (446-453) of vol. iii of Professor Bédier's *Légendes épiques*. These glowing paragraphs are at once so characteristic and so engaging, that they are here reproduced in full, together with the prefatory note by which they are accompanied in the *Temps*.

M. Joseph Bédier vient de publier le tome troisième et le tome quatrième et dernier de son ouvrage intitulé: *les Légendes épiques, recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste*.¹ Il y a étudié avec un soin particulier la légende de Roland. De cette étude M. Joseph Bédier a bien voulu résumer ici les grandes lignes et la conclusion.

La plus ancienne forme connue de la *Chanson de Roland* nous est représentée, comme on sait, par le célèbre texte du manuscrit d'Oxford, c'est-à-dire par un poème de quatre mille vers écrit dans les premières années du douzième siècle et signé de ce nom, Turolf. Mais, à en croire nombre de critiques, bien d'autres poèmes auraient précédé celui-là: Roland aurait été célébré, dès le lendemain de sa mort, dès l'an 778, en des "cantilènes" ou en des poèmes épiques, lesquels, répétés et amplifiés d'âge en âge, "aboutirent" enfin, après trois siècles, au poème de Turolf.

Ce poème ne serait donc qu'un "chapelet," ou un "bouquet de cantilènes," ou un remaniement d'un poème déjà vingt fois remanié.

C'est de la même façon que sous l'influence de Wolf, de Herder, des frères Grimm et des romantiques allemands, on a tenté d'expliquer la formation de l'*Illiade*, de l'*Odyssee*, des *Nibelungen*, et de maintes autres épopées, dites "primitives" et "populaires." C'est de la même façon que depuis les temps d'Uhland et de Fauriel, on prétend expliquer, outre le *Roland*, toutes les chansons de geste. Bien qu'elles datent toutes, sous les formes où nous les avons, du douzième et du treizième siècle, on veut y reconnaître le dernier aboutissement, l'écho affaibli d'un travail poétique commencé des siècles plus tôt. Nos romans de chevalerie représenteraient des "survivances" d'une plus ancienne épopée carolingienne, héritière elle-même d'une plus ancienne épopée mérovingienne. Selon une formule célèbre, que l'on rencontre pour la première fois dans un écrit d'Uhland, daté de 1834, "l'épopée française est l'esprit germanique dans une forme romane" —en sorte que, pour rendre compte de la *Chanson de Roland*, il faudrait remonter jusqu'à Charlemagne, et bien plus haut encore, jusqu'à Chilpéric et à Clovis, et bien plus haut encore, jusqu'aux Germains de la *Germanie* de Tacite.

À l'encontre de ces théories, à l'encontre des critiques qui si souvent ont prétendu que "l'auteur de la *Chanson de Roland* s'appelle légion," M. J. Bédier a revendiqué les titres du vieux poète Turolf, a mis en relief la cohérence du poème signé de ce nom, son harmonie, son unité. Ce ne sont pas, lui semble-t-il, des compilateurs enfilant en chapelet de petits chants lyrico-épiques, ce ne sont pas des remanieurs, remaniant des remaniements de remaniements, qui ont produit cette œuvre d'une simplicité si complexe, si subtile, si classique.

Ceci dit, nous laissons la parole à M. J. Bédier:

Je ne nie pas qu'une plus ancienne *Chanson de Roland* ait pu exister, différente et plus fruste. J'ai montré que le poème de Turolf est fait "de main d'ouvrier," rien de plus; mais c'est aussi le cas de l'*Iphigénie* de Racine, et quand on l'a reconnu, il n'en reste pas moins que d'autres *Iphigénie* ont précédé celle

¹ Champion, éditeur, 1908-1913.

de Racine, et que Racine les a exploitées; pareillement, avant Turol, un autre poète moins doué a pu, j'en conviens, essayer le sujet.

A quoi donc ont tendu mes recherches? 1° A montrer qu'il n'y a dans le poème de Turol nulle trace de "cantilènes" antérieures et que la théorie de la lente élaboration de la *Chanson de Roland* à partir du huitième siècle, à travers des versions bretonne, angevine, ou autres, est sans base; 2° à décourager les critiques qui se servent du poème de Turol pour rebâtir ses modèles hypothétiques. Racine a exploité les plus anciennes *Iphigénie*; mais pour des critiques littéraires ou pour des philologues qui, transportés dans une île lointaine, ne connaîtraient que son *Iphigénie* et ne conserveraient nul espoir de se procurer des versions plus anciennes, qui n'auraient même nul témoignage de leur existence, ce serait temps et peine perdus que d'essayer de les reconstruire; ce qu'ils reconstruiraient n'aurait nulle chance de ressembler à l'*Iphigénie* de Rotrou ou à celle d'Euripide. Et quand ils auraient accumulé les combinaisons conjecturales et les systèmes, celui-là serait dans la vérité qui viendrait leur dire: "Chassez enfin cette obsédante préoccupation des versions antérieures: elle est stérile. Prions les dieux qu'ils nous les révèlent; en attendant, puisque nous avons du moins ce peu de chose, l'*Iphigénie* de Racine, tâchons de nous contenter de ce peu de chose. Elle offre assez de cohérence et d'harmonie pour qu'en tout état de cause il apparaisse que Racine a repensé les versions antérieures; les repensant, il les a recréées. Recréer et créer sont termes exactement synonymes. N'appelons pas Racine 'le dernier rédacteur,' le 'remanieur,' mais de préférence, le poète." C'est ce que je dis de la *Chanson de Roland*: ce qui en fait la beauté, comme de l'*Iphigénie* de Racine, c'en est l'unité, et l'unité est dans le poète, en cette chose indivisible, que jamais on ne revoit deux fois, l'âme d'un individu.

Assurément, entre le poème de Turol et les plus anciennes fictions sur Charlemagne et sur Roland, bien des choses sont interposées: d'autres légendes, d'autres poèmes peut-être qui retraçaient certains épisodes des "set anz tuz pleins" passés par Charles en Espagne, une *Prise de Nobles* peut-être, ou une *Chanson de Basant et Basile*; d'autres romans, qui ont pu lui fournir les personnages d'Ogier le Danois, de Girard de Roussillon, des douze pairs; d'autres légendes en tout cas, et d'autres poèmes, qui lui offraient le type du roi-prêtre Charlemagne, menant en croisade une armée de preux. Et plus notre analyse aura fait apparaître que le poème de Turol relève d'un art déjà complexe, plus elle aura rappelé qu'un genre littéraire ne débute pas par son chef-d'œuvre et que Turol eut des modèles, trouva une technique déjà constituée avant lui. Mais la question est de savoir si, pour susciter ces modèles et constituer cette technique, trois siècles, cinq siècles furent nécessaires, ou si ce ne fut pas assez des cent années de ce onzième siècle, qui, dans les divers domaines de l'action et de la pensée, fut l'âge créateur entre tous. Dans l'école adverse, a-t-on rien fait pour expliquer la naissance des premières chansons de geste et la formation de cette technique, quand on s'est borné à dire que des "chanteurs" enthousiastes durent "chanter" Floovant dès le temps de Dagobert, et "chanter" Roland dès le temps de Charlemagne?

Pour que des éléments légendaires, vagues et amorphes, qui végétaient dans les églises de Roncevaux ou dans les églises de la route de Roncevaux, naquit la *Chanson de Roland*, il est inutile et vain de supposer qu'il y ait fallu des siècles, et que des "chanteurs" sans nombre se soient succédé. Une minute a

suffi, la minute sacrée où le poète, exploitant peut-être quelque fruste roman, ébauche grossière du sujet, a conçu l'idée du conflit de Roland et d'Olivier. Seulement, ayant conçu cette idée, pour la mettre en œuvre, et je ne crains pas le mot, pour l'exploiter, il ne s'est pas contenté de "chanter"; il lui a fallu se mettre à sa table de travail, chercher des combinaisons, des effets, des rimes, calculer, combiner, raturer, peiner. Ainsi font les poètes d'aujourd'hui; ainsi ont fait les poètes de tous les temps. Ils se vantent quand ils disent qu'ils chantent comme l'homme respire, et qui les en croit se trompe; ils travaillent; "c'est un métier de faire un livre, comme de faire une pendule": il n'y a pas d'autre théorie vraie pour rendre compte des ouvrages de l'esprit. La *Chanson de Roland* aurait pu ne pas être; elle est parce qu'un homme fut. Elle est le don gratuit et magnifique que nous a fait cet homme, non pas une légion d'hommes.

Je suis donc tenté de prendre précisément le contre-pied de la doctrine si souvent exprimée au dix-neuvième siècle, en ces termes, par exemple, par Renan :

On ne songe pas assez qu'en tout cela l'homme est peu de chose, et l'humanité est tout. Le collecteur même n'est pas en une telle œuvre un personnage de grande apparence. Il s'efface. Et les auteurs des fragments légendaires, ils sont presque toujours inconnus. Ah! que cela est significatif! Les érudits regrettent beaucoup qu'on ne sache pas leur nom en toutes lettres et syllabes, leur pays, leur condition, s'ils étaient mariés ou non, riches ou pauvres, etc. En vérité, j'en serais fâché, parce qu'alors on dirait très positivement *l'Iliade* d'Homère, le *Roland* de Turolde, etc. Ce qui serait surtout très insupportable si ces poèmes étaient parfaitement délimités, et qu'on pût dire: "Turolde composa telle année un poème de quatre mille vers." Alors on attribuerait ces poèmes à un homme, et cet homme y a été pour si peu! Ce serait une fausseté historique. C'est l'esprit de la nation, son génie, si l'on veut, qui est le véritable auteur. Le poète n'est que l'écho harmonieux, je dirais presque le scribe qui écrit sous la dictée du peuple, qui lui raconte de toutes parts ses beaux rêves.

Je dirai au contraire: j'aimerais savoir le nom de l'auteur de la *Chanson de Roland*, en toutes lettres et syllabes, son pays, sa condition, etc., comme j'aimerais en savoir toujours plus long de la vie de Racine, et pour les mêmes raisons; Turolde fut pour peu de chose dans la *Chanson de Roland* sans doute, comme Racine fut pour peu de chose dans *Iphigénie*, mais pour autant. Certes son œuvre, comme celle de Racine, ne s'explique que par la collaboration et la complicité de son temps, et c'est pourquoi je me suis appliqué de tout mon effort à la replacer en son temps, à évoquer à cet effet certaines circonstances historiques, à rappeler les faits psychologiques généraux qui susciterent, en la même période que la *Chanson de Roland*, les croisades d'Espagne, puis les croisades de Terre-Sainte. Mais ne tombons pas dans les théories qui veulent partout mettre des forces collectives, inconscientes, anonymes, à la place de l'individu. Un chef-d'œuvre commence à son auteur et finit à lui.

A peine si nous savons le nom du poète de la *Chanson de Roland*. Du moins nous savons qu'il vécut à la fin du onzième siècle et au commencement du douzième, au temps des dernières croisades d'Espagne et de la première croisade de Terre-Sainte. C'est l'esprit de ce temps qui inspire et soutient son œuvre. En attribuer tel épisode, tel motif, tel sentiment à tel temps, à tel autre temps tel autre motif, épisode ou sentiment, ce ne sera jamais qu'un jeu laborieux et arbitraire. Certes l'amour du danger, le désir de la gloire, la tendresse du compagnon pour son compagnon, le dévouement du vassal à son seigneur et du seigneur à son vassal, l'esprit de sacrifice, le souci de l'honneur du lignage, ce sont

là des sentiments ou trop généralement humains, ou trop généralement français, ou trop généralement féodaux pour que tel d'entre eux n'ait pu s'exprimer en quelque poème dès une très haute époque; mais ce qui est le propre de la *Chanson de Roland*, c'est qu'ils y apparaissent tous, et tous en plein épanouissement, et reliés entre eux par une idée dominante, par l'idée des croisades, celle d'une mission héroïque de la France: voilà ce qui n'est pas concevable avant la fin du onzième siècle. La primitive *Chanson de Roland* ne peut dater que de ce siècle au plus tôt; et si nous n'en sommes pas à vingt ans près quand il s'agit de dater une chanson de geste, encore importe-t-il de ne pas l'antidater de trois siècles.

A peine si nous savons le nom de l'auteur de la *Chanson de Roland*: du moins nous savons qu'il fut un "Franc de France," et nous retrouvons en son œuvre ce qu'il y a de plus spécifiquement national en notre poésie, le sens classique des proportions, la clarté, la sobriété, la force harmonieuse. Nous y reconnaissons l'esprit de notre nation, aussi bien que dans l'œuvre de Corneille. Ce Turolf qui, voilà huit cents ans, a trouvé pour notre patrie la caresse de ces noms, "douce France," "France la libre," nous témoigne avec quelle simplicité s'est faite l'unité française. Sa "douce France" est précisément la nôtre, avec les Lorrains comme aujourd'hui, avec les Gascons, avec les Normands, avec les Provençaux comme aujourd'hui. Charlemagne est pour lui, par réminiscence érudite, l'empereur des Bavarois, des Frisons, des Saxons; mais il est le roi de douce France; ce sont les Francs de France qui sont les plus proches de lui dans ses conseils (*Par cels de France voelt il del tut errer*), et les vingt mille de Roncevaux sont tous des Francs de France: ils ont seuls le privilège de mourir avec Roland. Donc, nous assure-t-on, le poème de Turolf représente "l'esprit germanique dans une forme romane." Une telle formule l'aurait surpris. Vainement on lui aurait remontré, comme fait Léon Gautier (les *Épopées françaises*), que "1° l'idée de la guerre est toute germanique dans nos poèmes"; que "2° la royauté, dans nos épopées, est toute germaine"; que "3° la féodalité y est d'origine germaine"; que "4° le droit germanique a laissé sa trace dans nos chansons de geste"; et que "5° l'idée de la femme n'y est pas moins germaine." Il eût répondu qu'il se pouvait bien, mais qu'il n'en était pas moins un Franc de France.

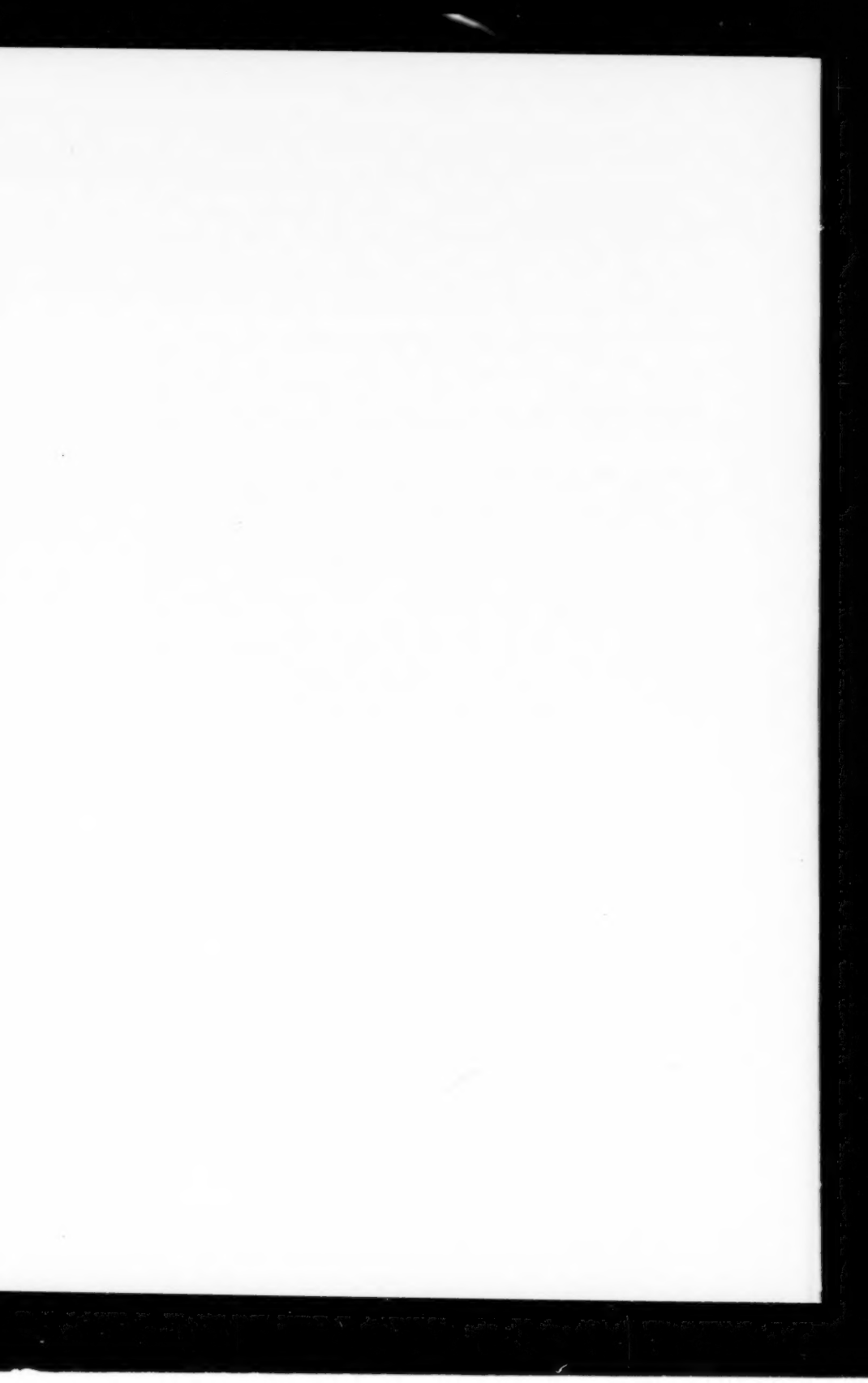
Il y a dans la correspondance de Jacob Grimm une parole que j'ai la faiblesse d'admirer. Une théorie de Gærres voulait que les *Nibelungen* ne fussent pas d'origine allemande, mais scythique: le bûcher le Brünhild, assurait-il, s'était d'abord allumé sur le Caucase, et Jacob Grimm ne pouvait s'en consoler. Il écrivit donc à Gærres: "Si l'on met en question l'origine de notre poésie héroïque, j'avoue que je n'abandonnerai pas volontiers, de prime abord, le sol connu, les rives de notre Rhin bien-aimé. S'il me fallait admettre une origine scythique, cela me ferait le même effet que s'il me fallait abandonner ma religion pour une autre religion plus ancienne." Pareillement, je ne conviendrai pas sans de bonnes raisons que les chansons de geste soient d'origine germanique, et ne connaissant à l'appui de cette hypothèse que des raisons sans force, je ne rendrai notre *Chanson de Roland* aux Germains que lorsque les Allemands auront d'abord rendu aux Scythes leurs *Nibelungen*.

JOSEPH BÉDIER,
professeur au Collège de France.

Professor Abel Lefranc, of the Collège de France, and director in the École pratique des hautes Études, is spending three months at the University of Chicago as the new exchange professor from France. Professor Lefranc will give two courses at the University during the winter quarter. The first course, "Explication de Rabelais," will be for graduate students only; the second course, "Molière et les grandes questions de son temps," will be open to the public.

Edward Tuck of Paris has presented a fund to Dartmouth College to establish an assistant French professorship destined to aid in "strengthening the bonds of friendship existing between the United States and France." Mr. Tuck, who was a member of the class of 1862, has given more than \$1,000,000 to the college for instruction alone, besides the Amos Tuck School of Finance and its endowment. The new assistant professorship is to be filled by a native Frenchman selected by the French Ministry of Education.

A Harvard graduate has recently made an endowment in Harvard University for the maintenance of a professorship of Latin-American History and Economics, and for such other purposes as the President and Faculty shall determine will best further instruction under this professorship. Two years ago E. C. Hills, visiting professor, gave a course dealing with the literature of the Spanish American countries; and at present Professor J. D. M. Ford carries on courses of research in this subject. During the spring and summer of last year, Professor Ford and Professor W. E. Rasporf (now a member of the staff of the University of Geneva) accompanied an expedition of the Boston Chamber of Commerce as envoys of Harvard University duly accredited to the leading educational institutions of South America. Professor Ford was invited to become visiting professor at the University of Chile for the fall term of 1913,—an invitation he was unable to accept,—and to make overtures for a permanent interchange between Harvard and the University of Chile.



C15

0E2E
1328
2E32
3235
4538
5E35
63E8

7E38
8E35
9E38
0E35
1E38
2E35
3E38
4E35
5E38
6E35
7E38
8E35
9E38

0E2E
1328
2E32
3235
4538
5E35
63E8

7E38
8E35
9E38
0E35
1E38
2E35
3E38
4E35
5E38
6E35
7E38
8E35
9E38